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a personal history

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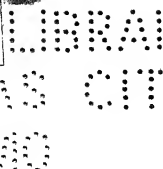
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GARNER *of* TEXAS

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A Personal History

by

BASCOM N. TIMMONS



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GARNER OF TEXAS

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FIRST EDITION

H-X

JNO. N. GARNER
UVALDE, TEXAS

Sept. 30-47

Dear Tim =

I think you are
all honest, truthful and
patriotic American -
For twenty five years I have
spoken to you in confidence
as much as to any man of
my acquaintance -
You have my promise to
use any statement I have
made to you in any way
you see fit. Your friend
John Garner

Facsimile of a letter from the
former Vice President to the author, Bascom N. Timmons

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GARNER *of* TEXAS

Shortstop with a Future

JOHN NANCE GARNER, 3rd, Confederate cavalryman, rode home to Texas in the early summer of 1865. In 1862 he had gone off gaily to join General Joe Wheeler's cavalry; he had transferred to Magruder's forces to help drive the federal blockading forces out of Galveston Harbor. Back under Wheeler's command, war's end had found him with an isolated unit of Fighting Joe's disintegrating army near the Louisiana-Alabama state line.

A hard, lean, unlettered six-footer, lacking a half-year of being twenty-one—young Garner headed home with nothing to his name but the horse he rode in battle, his side arms, the uniform and the heart-sickness of deep defeat. In this he was no different from 200,000 other Confederates straggling to their homes at the same time, and in some ways he was more fortunate than most of them. Texas, the most western of the Confederate states, had been spared the ravages of the eastern South. Grant had cut a swath of destruction on his way to Vicksburg and later to Richmond. Sherman had been even more destructive in his famous March to the Sea through Georgia. But Texas had not suffered a major invasion, and Garner's home country—the Red River section—had never felt the Yankee tread. The black soil there was rich and inviting to returning veterans. And for Garner there was another inducement to return home. He had a girl, Sarah Guest, waiting for him at Blossom Prairie.

This was the second time young Garner had made the westward trip to Texas. He did not remember much of the first journey. In 1851, as a six-year-old, he, with two brothers and three sisters, had come 700 miles from Rutherford County, Tennessee, to Blossom Prairie in a

covered wagon. His mother, widow of John Nance Garner, 2nd, was the driver, the cook, nurse and the housekeeper of that traditionally American trek.

Rebecca Walpole Garner had been born to better things than the frontier life. A direct descendant of Sir Robert Walpole, of England, Prime Minister and great parliamentary leader of the early 1700's, she had been gently raised in a cultured, well-off family, the Walpoles of Tennessee. She married into a family as good as her own. The Garners and the Nances both came into Tennessee from Virginia. Her husband was Scotch in the male line and Welsh in the other. Both lines went back into colonial times. The Garners and the Nances had done the things that good Americans did in those times. They had fought for the King against the French and for George Washington against the King. They had found the way to education and business success. They had moved west on the outer rim of advancing civilization. They were not, however, persons without roots. Rebecca's husband was the second John Nance Garner to be born in Tennessee and her son was the third.

The Tennessee background is an important fact in Garner family history. Andrew Jackson had lived his adult life in this state, went from there to the White House and came home to die there at the Hermitage. Jackson's friend and hero-worshiper, Sam Houston, had left the Tennessee governorship, led the fight to free Texas, defeated the Mexican President, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, on the battlefield at San Jacinto and become the first President of the Lone Star Republic.

On the way to Texas, Sam Houston in 1832 had proceeded through the Territory of Arkansas over the old road from the Arkansas River to Fort Towson, thence over Choctaw Trail, crossing Red River at Jonesboro. Davy Crockett's entry into Texas in 1835, with a small party of men, was through the Jonesboro gateway, and he spent his first Texas night in Red River County. Many Tennesseans followed. Among them were some of the Walpoles whose family fortune vanished in the financial panic of 1837.

Houston was President of the border Republic when the Walpoles arrived and settled in Red River County. The rich-soiled area laid claim to being the mother county of Texas for in it Stephen F. Austin, father of Texas, had stopped for a while with his first group of colonists in 1821. The Walpoles had done well in the new country. With her

husband dead and with little recovery since the financial panic of '37 had brought disaster to them, Rebecca Walpole decided to push west, to make a new start with her little brood among her own people.

Described as a strikingly handsome woman, used to the best that Tennessee offered, Rebecca Garner demonstrated in her new home bordering on Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) that she could do a man's and a woman's work. It is well she could. Many of the restless men of that area had come back from the Mexican War and had gone off again with the gold rush to California. Rebecca Garner needed not only her own work and good management, but the work of all her children in order to make a go of it.

Thus, her son, the Confederate cavalryman, had missed the education and rooted life that all his American ancestors had known. The boy's chance of an education would have been negligible at all events. But he also had the handicap of bad eyes. The incentive to get into the Confederate Army was so strong that he went 150 miles away to an eye doctor for treatment. The doctor did so good a job that although he lived to be seventy-five he never again wore glasses. He came home from the war to a state which had been under six flags—three in his lifetime—and now it was under none. This last condition as it turned out, was to be worst of all. Proud Texas would spend the next five years as a conquered country under Phil Sheridan's army of occupation and—what was still more humiliating—under carpetbag government.

But the tall cavalryman was not the kind to sit around and rail at his fate. He broke the rich, black, waxy earth and planted a crop. He built himself a mud-chinked log cabin and married Sarah Guest. Their first child was born there on November 22, 1868. It was a boy-child and they called him for his father, John Nance Garner, fourth of that name.

Grant had been elected President two weeks before. The Vice-Presidential running mate of the old soldier had been Schuyler Colfax of Indiana with whom the infant born in the Texas log cabin was to share the distinction of being the only men to serve as both Speaker of the national House of Representatives and Vice-President of the United States.

Grant's election raised new hope in Texas. Perhaps he could break the

deadlock between Congress and the President, precipitated by Thad Stevens' desire to heap punishment on the South, and end the military rule in Texas. But any hope that he could do that was short lived. The great General had no aptitude for civilian government. By spring, conditions were worse than ever. Commissioners elected by the Texas Reconstruction Convention on March 11, 1869, drafted a memorial to Congress to represent conditions in the unhappy land. The memorial denied "the pretense that a marked decrease of lawlessness had become manifest since General Grant's election to the Presidency."

"In fact," they wrote, "the assassinations in Texas since the election of General Grant have averaged two persons daily."

Financial conditions were so serious that Elisha M. Pease, governor by military appointment, proposed the sale of the part of the state lying west of the Pecos River to the federal government in order to help ease the impoverished condition of the rest of the state. The proposal was not acted on and desperate conditions were to continue.

While the quarreling, the sporadic violence and the general agony of political reconstruction was going on, ex-Cavalryman Garner was reconstructing his own life and proving what a correspondent was to marvel at, in the Manchester, England, *Guardian*: "In Texas no capital is needed except the sweat of a man's brow. Labor alone can make a man rich." Garner's forebears had given him neither money nor education, but he inherited their gifts for energy and success. He was a hard worker in his own fields, a good neighbor and a companionable fellow. These things come naturally to a young husband who has been raised in a hard-up household with an extremely capable mother and five other children. Two years after the birth of his first child he was proving that a man who did not mind hard work and who practices thrift could make a living for his family even under the tragic conditions of reconstruction. He had hired men to help him on the farm when they could be obtained in the short farm-labor market.

The mart where he sold his cotton was the brightest commercial spot on a dark business map of Texas. Jefferson was seventy-three miles from the Garner farm. It was a port on Big Cyprus Bayou, then navigable to a connection with Red River. All Red River County farmers took their cotton to the prosperous city of Jefferson for shipment to New Orleans and came back with loads of provender. Garner

was putting money in the bank. Texas came back into the union of thirty-seven states in 1870 and that same year Garner started building a real home for his family.

It was the most pretentious in that part of Texas. Picking a site on the hill crest two miles west of the log cabin, he built both for beauty and comfort. More than a little ancestor conscious, he preferred the colonial type of architecture. He engaged the best-obtainable craftsmen to help him at the building. He bought choice lumber, hauled in by ox wagon from Jefferson.

As the new house went up, it became the good-natured envy of the countryside. The foundation was of hewn timber. Studding, interspersed with oak logs, was pegged into place and locked with braces set in notches cut into timber. An ornate entrance door, a carved winding stairway leading to the second floor and a wainscotted parlor, two tall red chimneys at either end of the house affording fireplaces both up and downstairs, green shutters on the windows, all of these refinements made the seven-room house a pioneer showplace and one of great comfort.

Here it was that the ex-soldier's son—John, they called him—grew up. He was conscious from the first of belonging to a family whom people regarded as community leaders. Neighbors came to the sturdy white house to get advice on agriculture, politics and local problems. They had good times there. The boy John would say later:

"One of my earliest recollections is of my father's hospitality. When father raised a full crop, he would buy a full barrel of whisky and bring it home from Jefferson. If he raised a half-crop he would buy a half-barrel. He was a man to keep things in proportion.

"It stood in an unlocked house. Any neighbor who cared to might stop and have a drink if he wished. Some of them did and some did not. So far as I know the idea was original with my father. I never saw or heard of anyone else doing it."

Visitors not only drank the host's liquor, they played poker with him. John would remember two out of his father's many poker-game cronies. One was J. B. Whitfield, an ex-Confederate, who wore ruffled shirts and correct neckties and cherished the aristocratic manner of the old South. Whitfield was the village storekeeper whose line included everything from groceries, clothing, farm implements, patent medicines

to the men's-wear item—six-shooters. The other was Dr. Bascom C. Thompson, the community doctor, who liked to call himself the best poker player in the vicinity—until the elder Garner began to find leisure for this pastime.

Whisky and poker, as social outlets for successful, well-adjusted men, were not considered vice in those days. The boy John did not think of them in such terms. Years later when he was Vice-President of the United States, he got huge enjoyment out of the supposed insult by John L. Lewis who called him a “labor-baiting, whisky-drinking, poker-playing, evil old man.”

The boy, too, heard plenty of swearing around his father's farm. Rough language comes naturally to outdoor men. The rude words rolled off the boy's consciousness like rain down the roof top. It had the ring of neither profanity nor obscenity, and in times to come the boy became one of the most proficient cussers in public life. His wife who took his dictation became used to the future Vice-President's expostulations of damn and hell. She once said: “After all, damn is a very expressive word.”

But there was something else that played a bigger part in Garner's childhood. This was politics. It became a dominant factor in the household environment. When John was two, Texas regained statehood, and from then on politics was tirelessly talked and practiced everywhere he went. A state that had been under military rule and then carpetbag domination naturally would be very conscious of government. The Republicans still held the State House at Austin when he was six. When he was eight there was indignant talk that Grant was seeking a third term. This was unthinkable in Texas, especially in the Garner household. Andrew Jackson, as everyone knew, had tried to get a constitutional amendment through Congress to safeguard the country against just such a catastrophe. In the end the Republicans nominated Hayes.

The future Vice-President remembered this Presidential year—1876—because he was old enough to feel the impact of what happened. His father was a sort of a pillar in Red River County now and a political lodestar. The Republicans had been swept out of the State House and good Texans like Richard Coke and Dick Hubbard were taking charge at Austin. Texas had Maxey, a sure-enough Confederate general, in the United States Senate. All this caused tremendous satisfaction to the

elder Garner. It looked very much as if the Democrats were going to get their man, Samuel J. Tilden, in the White House.

Young Garner was to remember two things about that election year. The first was that his father took him to a political rally at Coon Soup Hollow. Two candidates for constable engaged in a joint debate. The choosing of constable represented local self-government. The man elected constable would be elected by that precinct only and would be its highest elective officer. One of the candidates, thundering his platform to the farmers of Coon Soup Hollow, completely enthralled young Garner. He went away feeling he wanted to be an orator. The other thing he remembers was the celebration of Tilden's election, then the dispute over the result and finally the jolting decision of the Electoral Commission putting Hayes in the White House and furnishing a conversational marathon for Texas Democrats.

They were in for a bruising adventure in the next Presidential year. This time there was more third-term talk. Grant and Blaine hooked up in an historic deadlock at the Republican national convention and Garfield was the dark-horse compromise. The Democratic convention nominated a man dear to Texan hearts. He was General Winfield Scott Hancock—a handsome soldier-politician in the great tradition of Jackson and Houston. Hancock—Union general that he was—had a wide and affectionate acquaintance in Texas. He had succeeded Phil Sheridan as commander of the fifth military district and had showed an openhearted understanding of the Lone Star State's problems. Texans thought of him as a man who tried to help them emerge from the dark days of reconstruction. But Hancock lost to Garfield by a mere 7,000 votes, in a total vote of 9,000,000, the closest Presidential election in the nation's history. The Democrats had gone down in two heartbreaking Presidential elections.

He could remember another political incident of childhood. He was thirteen then and Arthur had come into the Presidency at the assassination of Garfield. Men at the country store were discussing the tariff and wondering whether the Arthur administration would undertake revisions. Tariff in those years was the issue which more than any other marked the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, the most discussed topic everywhere. Garner asked questions about the tariff. In after years he was to participate in four major tariff

revisions and ask perhaps more questions about the tariff than any member of the American Congress.

The childhood years were pleasant with the swimming holes, fishing streams and turkey and wild-game coverts in the pecan groves, and the wandering through the country with a bobtailed dog named Rover. He had two brothers and three sisters by this time—the same size family as his father had been raised in. But Mr. and Mrs. Garner apparently decided that twice as many children would be twice as good. They took on seven more to raise, and John's companionable instinct—so notable in future years—had plenty to work on.

There were plenty of tasks to do. Farm people, whatever their financial status, toiled from sunup to sundown and did the chores in darkness. Children plowed the fields as soon as they were tall enough to reach plow handles. Young Garner performed all the work connected with planting and harvesting and was assigned such tasks as milking cows, feeding the farm animals. By the time he was twelve he often had to forego school days to help with the farm, rising at four o'clock in the morning to do two hours of before-breakfast chores by lantern light.

The family traits of energy and ambition left him vaguely unsatisfied. He knew that his father, though in rather comfortable circumstances now, had once been very poor and had always worked hard at physical labor. He knew, too, that his father—unlike the Garner, Nance and Walpole forebears—was not an educated man. He had had to make up in vigor and wit for what he missed in polish and formal education. John wanted money—not just productive farmland to be sweated and toiled over. And he wanted book learning—the very best.

He got the money start before he had advanced very far toward an education. One of his father's hired men, Francis Parker, shared a room with John and was devoted to the pink-faced, blue-eyed ambitious boy. Along came John's eighth birthday and Parker decided to give him five dollars as a present. But young Garner had his father's hotheaded independence and Parker knew it. So he gave him no present. Instead he promised him five dollars if he would pick 100 pounds of cotton. He picked 108 pounds, took the five dollars, bought a motherless mule colt, raised it, trained it and at the end of three years sold it for \$150. He promptly banked the whole amount. This first bank deposit made a businessman out of young John Garner for life. It gave him a feeling of

independence. He was careful to retain that feeling of independence all through the years.

As for the education, he began it at his mother's knee. Sarah Garner, who epitomized the tenderness of frontier life just as the husband epitomized its storming energy, was deeply interested in the boy having an education. From her he obtained intellectual qualities and sensibilities. She taught him the alphabet and other early lessons. He was inducted further into the mysteries of education by Aunt Kitty Garner, his father's spinster sister—one of the six children who made the covered-wagon journey to Texas. She was the family historian, the keeper of souvenirs, old letters and word-of-mouth memoirs. Aunt Kitty also had a shelf of books—histories and the solid fare in Scott and Dickens of nineteenth-century households.

At seven John had his first taste of formal schooling. He walked three miles, morning and evening, to the old unpainted schoolhouse at Antioch. The times were so hard in these reconstruction years, plus the long Southern financial stringency which followed the panic of 1873, that the schools seldom kept open more than four months a year. The curriculum consisted principally of McGuffey's *Reader* and Webster's *Blue Black Speller*. E. L. Mowrey, his first teacher at Antioch, called him the best pupil in the school and said he excelled at all school games. Another teacher, F. E. Butler, said the boy's mind was huskier than his body and he was not physically capable of prolonged application.

His health was better when he was next sent to boarding school at Bogota several miles farther south. There he studied under stern old Captain W. L. Rice. Captain Rice not only taught him history and mathematics, he also confirmed him in a love of literature. On Captain Rice's shelves were the Bible, Milton, Bacon, Bunyan, Shakespeare, Samuel Johnson, Gibbons, Voltaire—the best library for counties around.

Such books were about the only reading available. The *Galveston Weekly News* had some circulation, but it came by stage coach over a distance of seven hundred miles. The stagecoach and covered wagon offered the only means of transporting people, mail and freight. There were regularly operated stage lines from Clarksville to Jefferson, Clarksville to Little Rock and Clarksville to Austin as well as other Texas points, and some periodical journals came this way. But

schedules were not dependable. Muddy roads, swollen rivers caused delays often for days, sometimes for weeks.

At fifteen, John was able to look further ahead in education. He wanted to go where the teaching was the best. This involved leaving home for a while. He still had the mule money where it was safe and drawing interest, and he was willing to work after school hours. He went to his mother and told her of his plans to go away. He would fend for himself.

"I don't wish to ask father for assistance," he said. "I don't believe I will have to."

Soon afterward he set off for Blossom, in adjoining Lamar County, which was known to have the finest school system in that section of Texas. Two of the teachers were outstanding—J. R. Walpole, a relative, and Henry McDonald Fletcher. John boarded with the parents of Eugene Black, who later was to be his colleague in Congress and still later a member of the Tax Court of the United States.

A railroad had been built now and the little town of Detroit sprang up at the edge of the jack-oak timber line four miles north of Blossom Prairie. Soon Detroit was a prosperous community and the Garners moved to a bigger house there. The country was changing and now Dallas had a population of almost 10,000 and was threatening Jefferson as the trading center of north and east Texas.

At Blossom, Garner learned he could be paid for playing, as well as working. The fierce pride of a small community was to aid toward his education. Near by was Possum Trot and it had a baseball team of strong country boys who had repeatedly humiliated both Blossom and adjoining Coon Soup Hollow. The two communities merged forces and formed a baseball team to wipe out the stigma. Townsmen and farmers were willing to chip in to pay members of the team to do plenty of practicing.

Garner played shortstop. At second base was Charlie Phillips and at first base was John Hancock. The Garner-to-Phillips-to-Hancock trio was to become something of a double-play combination. If Garner wasn't the Honus Wagner of the team, Phillips was its Napoleon Lajoie—a very smooth performer.

Garner was the youngest player on the team and while he was not a particularly brilliant fielder or a fence-breaking hitter, he was its

“holler guy” and “spark plug”—its star player because of his spirit and hustle. Blossom imported a former professional baseball player and paid him to teach Jeff Dickey, the Blossom-Coon Soup Hollow pitcher, to throw a curve ball. Country pitchers in those days reared back and threw toward the plate as hard as they could and no one thought of trying to make the ball do tricks. Jeff Dickey could throw hard and with his newly perfected curve all Blossom and Coon Soup Hollow awaited with confidence the matched game with Possum Trot.

Dickey's repertoire of curves and speed didn't work so well on the day of the big game. He lacked control. His curve curved, but, according to the umpire, it didn't curve over the plate and when he threw his fast one, Possum Trot hammered it to all corners of the field. The game was never finished. The two teams battled down to a ninth-inning tie and when Shortstop Garner was called out on what he thought was a very raw decision at first base, he stormed at the umpire, heaping invectives on the arbiter. A first-class riot of players and spectators was underway and the game still remains tied. Garner was to continue to play semiprofessionally at Blossom and Clarksville for several years.

John had other jobs during his middle and late teens, both during the school term and summer vacation. He clerked in his uncle's store at Detroit and for a hardware store and a saw mill in Texarkana. He continually added to the bank account.

Two things, he once said, gave him his ideas of prudent private and public financial management.

“My father told me if I had a dime and owed no one I was solvent,” he said. “Oran M. Roberts campaigned and won election as Governor of Texas on a promise to conduct government on a ‘pay-as-you-go’ basis. I was ten years old when Roberts stumped the state on that issue. He became famous as a man who not only kept his promise but reduced the public debt and lowered taxes.”

At eighteen, Garner thought himself ready for college. Where would he go? Texas had colleges, including the proud new Texas University at Austin, but he felt the strong family pull toward Tennessee. He wanted to live for a while where his parents and grandparents had lived. He wanted to take in some of the Houston-Jackson back-

ground he had heard so much about. Vanderbilt University at Nashville was at the very door of the Hermitage. He decided on Vanderbilt and took the decision to his parents. Once more he told them he would need no financial help. Mr. Garner, the old Confederate, smiled at his wife and said:

"I think we will be proud of John."

The train ride to Nashville was his first. Fond hopes and big expectations went with him when he left for Nashville. But no one ever discovered how much, if at all, a college education would have benefited this young man. He very soon found out that his pick-up education had a lot of gaps in it. This in itself might not have stopped him for he knew how to surmount obstacles by grinding work. His real trouble developed when his eyes began to pain him. As if that were not enough he soon developed symptoms of a lung complaint. Finally, as Garner told it later, he went to a doctor:

"He told me I probably wouldn't live many years. I decided under these circumstances the money I'd saved was worth more than an education—so I took it and went home."

It was an inglorious return—almost as melancholy a westward trip as his father had made at the end of the Civil War. But the son, like the father, began anew. He knew he did not have the physical stamina for the backbreaking toil of agriculture even if he had wanted to follow that pursuit. He went into the law office of Captain W. L. Sims and M. L. Wright.

The old-fashioned law office which became his alma mater was better than a law degree to a lawyer who expected to practice in a state with community property and many other laws of Spanish origin, as Garner did. Sims knew not only the Anglo-Saxon system of law, but he knew the sources of all the law which had been woven into the Texas code—the *Jus Civile*, the *Partidas* of Alfonso, the *Recopilación* of Castile, the Legislation of Justinian, the *Nueva Recopilación* of the Indies and the *Code Napoléon*.

All these things Captain Sims patiently imparted to the intelligent young law student. But while Garner was getting a maximum of instruction and of labor he got a minimum of financial reward. The latter he supplemented by playing baseball.

Some of Garner's functions in the law office were hindered by the

fact that he was not yet twenty-one. That was not a serious matter in this friendly part of Texas. On his petition a judge issued a court order which removed his disabilities as a minor.

At twenty-one, Garner was admitted to the bar and set up practice in Clarksville. He used his first fee to buy an iron safe. But the confidence outran the performance at first. For what seemed a long, long time clients passed by his doorway. There was nothing of value to put in the safe.

During these days of the doldrums, Garner made his first stab at politics. He figured that he could fill out his income, earn some prestige and gain some experience by becoming city attorney. He hurried down to enter his candidacy on the last day of filing. There wasn't much chance to get around and talk to the voters before election. He had only one rival to beat, but that proved one too many. On election day Garner found he had run a close second.

He had not been feeling well during the campaign, but he put off seeing a doctor until the election was over. Then he got worse news than the election news. The doctor informed him he had developed tuberculosis and that he could not live unless he moved to a drier climate. For Garner there was only one solution—the solution the Garners had always sought for their problems—go farther west. He scouted around and learned of an opening at Uvalde in the ranch country west of San Antonio. Uvalde had once been the intersection of the mail routes to Mexico and the distant West.

For nearly half a century, it had possessed a reputation as a tough place on the southwest Texas frontier. It had been infested with bad Indians, bad Mexicans and bad Americans. The Canyon de Uvalde afforded a natural defense and shelter and from it the savages had operated. That is about all Garner knew about it, other than that it had the reputation of being about the driest climate between Clarksville, Texas and the setting sun. On that he made his decision. Garner relates:

"I decided to accept the offer to go there. I didn't know whether I would ever get well or not. The way I was feeling I didn't much care. I went to my father, told him of my decision and asked him if he had any advice to give me.

"'Only this, John,' he said, 'Tell the truth and be a gentleman.'"

In 1941, retiring as Vice-President after a distinguished career of thirty-eight years in Washington, Garner could say:

"I don't know whether I lived up to the gentleman part or not, but I have never told an untruth to any person. The man who will tell a lie for his social, financial or political advantage either is a weak man or a bad man. It doesn't pay off—even temporarily. Seldom is there utility in a lie, just futility."

But on that December day in 1892 John Garner merely thanked his father and headed west.

Gaffed Spurs

JOHN NANCE GARNER reached Uvalde in the depression winter of 1893. On the way out on a slow train from San Antonio he was impressed with the roominess of the country. There was a house about every five miles. As he approached the town to which he was to bring national and international fame he counted his money. He found that he had \$151.60 of unencumbered assets, or any assets at all.

"It was night when I reached Uvalde," he told me. "I gave a hacker twenty-five cents to take me and my little trunk to the hotel. It was too dark for me to see much of my future abode."

Garner was up at daylight for a sightseeing expedition around the 2,500-population trading center of an area as vast as the state of Virginia. It was at a time of year when the mesquite trees had shed their leaves, the grass was brown and coarse with only scattered live oaks to give a touch of life to the scene. He walked through the unpaved streets lined with frame buildings which housed mercantile houses and a sprinkling of saloons. Blacksmith shops and wagon yards filled in here and there, along with abode huts for Mexican laborers.

"Hell's bells," he said to himself, "I'd rather be dead in Clarksville than alive here." But as soon as the bank opened he went in and opened an account with \$150.

The signature he left at the bank was *Jno. N. Garner*, and that was to continue to be his signature. Eventually he was to become sole owner of the bank and to have banks in near-by towns.

From the bank Garner walked directly to the office of Clark and Fuller and completed arrangements to join the firm. An itinerant sign painter was passing through Uvalde and immediately the new shingle CLARK, FULLER & GARNER went up.

The office of Clark, Fuller & Garner was on the second floor over a saloon. The saloon was a sort of cattleman's club and the best place in Uvalde to get acquainted. Garner dropped in a few days later and found at the bar a rancher slightly worse for libation. The obliging young lawyer an hour or so afterward offered to take the cowman to his hotel.

As they started out the cowman got a little mixed and thought it was he taking Garner to the hotel. Garner paused to show his new-made friend the spick sign of the firm of which he was junior member.

"Clark fullern' Garner," the cowman read. "Clark fullern' Garner," he repeated. "All I got to say is, if Clark's fullern' Garner I don't want to meet him."

But the first addition to his bank account did not come from law practice. There was a poker game among some cattlemen at the hotel. The young lawyer was asked to sit in. He had no hankering to risk his capital but the cattlemen were insistent. The game didn't last long, but the next morning Garner put twenty-two twenty-dollar gold pieces in the bank and Tully Fuller told him he had heard one of the participants in the game say:

"That fellow isn't a lawyer. He's a slick gambler."

Actually, Garner was and would always be, not a slick gambler, but a man with a shrewd sense of values. "I could make money on a rock," he once remarked casually. Bad financial times never stopped him, and they were very bad indeed in 1893. Grover Cleveland was back in the White House after a four years' absence. He had rearrived there just in time to catch the full force of a financial panic that had been building up during some soft-money experiments by the Republicans under Benjamin Harrison. Cleveland put the stopper on inflation by hardening the currency—weakened by the Silver Purchase Act of 1890—with gold. He also tried—and failed—to do something about the protectionist tariff which favored the moneyed classes against the agrarians.

A case has been made by Henry Adams, shrewdest observer of those days, to fix 1893 as the year in which America became finally and positively a capitalistic nation. Adams wrote: "For one hundred years between 1793 and 1893 the American people had hesitated, vacillated, swayed forward and back between two forces, one simply industrial, the other capitalistic, centralizing and mechanical. But in

1893 the issue came on the single gold standard and the majority at least declared itself, once and for all, in favor of the capitalistic system with all its necessary machinery."

Garner, as always, was aware of the movement in national events. But he was now facing the nearer problem of becoming a capitalist in his own right. The division of the law firm's fees was to be Clark one-half, Fuller one-third and Garner one-sixth. The junior partner rode the judicial circuit for hundreds of miles in what was called the horny-and-thorny or the cattle-and-cactus country. He brought in so many fees that his percentage was increased.

He soon won a reputation around the courthouses as an effective compromiser who could make a good settlement for his client out of court, and also as a good lawyer before a jury. For riding by horseback and buckboard over nine counties, carrying his bedding and often sleeping on the ground at night, Garner made between \$500 and \$600 the first year. He got his health back and in the little county seats, which usually consisted of a courthouse, four or five stores and a couple of saloons, he was getting an acquaintance which was to be very valuable to him.

Not all of Garner's fees were in cash. His law firm accepted goats, cattle, horses, wool and other chattels, and Garner became its trader to convert these assets into cash. In settlement of one fee, he took a weekly newspaper, the Uvalde *Leader*.

In addition to his law duties, Garner became editor, publisher and reporter. His printer helped him gather local items.

"For a year, I wrote editorials which I hoped would mold public opinion," Garner told me. Most of the editorials preached economy in local government. When a vacancy occurred in the office of county judge, which also meant county manager, Garner was appointed to the vacancy and told to practice the economy he preached. The friendly twenty-five-year-old county judge was re-elected and then his economy got him into trouble.

Judge Garner was charged with the administration of the county sick-and-poor fund. He had a distinct feeling that some of the Mexican laborers were receiving too much money from the sick fund. Some private sleuthing revealed that they were spending it for tequila and

whisky. So he purchased some harmless pills and the next Mexican seeking money to allay an ailment was "doctored" by the Judge.

Several days later it was reported the Mexican had died and the story was used against Garner with such telling effect that he was defeated for re-election. After the election Garner met the supposedly dead man on the street. His opponent's friends had kept the Mexican out of sight until after the election. It was the first and last time Garner was tricked in a campaign.

Being off the county payroll caused the ex-judge no financial pangs. Much of his law practice had to do with cloudy titles and hazy boundaries. Garner founded a firm to search and abstract titles. It became an extremely profitable business and the firm is still in existence in 1948.

Garner, while county judge, took the most important step in his life. He met and married Miss Mariette Rheiner, daughter of J. Peter Rheiner. Rheiner, a Swiss immigrant, partly owned and partly leased a 34,000-acre ranch near Uvalde. He had married Miss Mary Elizabeth Watson. She died when Mariette was an infant.

After graduation from a boarding school, the Columbia Atheneum at Columbia, Tennessee, Mariette found life on the big ranch lonely and went to San Antonio to take a course in a business school. Such a thing for a girl of means was unheard of in those days, but Mariette Rheiner, like the man she was to marry, had a mind of her own. The young country judge was introduced to her on a train and eight months later they were married by the Reverend George Morrison at the Christian church in Sabinal. Their only child, Tully, was born September 24, 1896, and named for Garner's law partner, Tully Fuller, thus breaking the line of John Nance Garners.

Mariette Garner was the ideal wife for the man she married. She had good sense, a placid disposition and great faith in his future. She immediately became and remained his confidential secretary.

Being out of office required a readjustment. Mr. and Mrs. Garner sat down and inventoried their assets, and decided on the future. He was approaching thirty. They had built a home. He had a law library and was collecting the home library which was to make him one of the best-read men in the nation. The proceeds from his profitable abstract-

ing company he was investing in bank stock and real estate. He decided he was content to settle down and grow with the country's growth.

Then something happened to make him change his mind. W. H. Crain, the district's Representative in Congress died in Washington. A convention was called in Corpus Christi to nominate a successor and Garner was elected a delegate. By way of being forehanded he also picked up the proxies of eight or ten other delegates who were unable to attend.

It was a long-drawn-out convention with dozens of nominating speeches. But Garner was anything but bored. He was learning from these speeches what kind of man was wanted as Congressman from Texas. Most of the nominating language, of course, was platitudinous. It called for a Congressman who was honest, candid, forthright, fearless, wise, hard working, studious and patriotic. Garner agreed. In his own mind he felt that he could fulfill these superlative descriptions. He decided then and there that someday he was going to Congress.

Rudolph Kleberg, an owner of the million-acre King Ranch, won the nomination. This meant he would be in Congress for a long time. Any Kleberg would be hard to beat for office. Nevertheless, Garner went home to Uvalde and surprised his wife with the announcement:

"Ettie, I am going to Congress."

Just how he was to do it had to be worked out.

"From that day," Garner told me afterward, "I began to study national issues. I had made up my mind I would never take a job for which I did not have the equipment and the experience."

Garner always anticipated developments. Growth in population which had been heavy in the '90's was certain to give Texas at least one additional Congressman. Garner's experience as county judge gave him insight into local government. The state legislature would be a good training ground and enlarge his horizon by teaching him the practical mechanics of legislation and how to deal with men and situations. He ran and won a clear majority over three opponents. His preparation for a legislative career was beginning.

Weighing 120 pounds he walked into the huge, new, pink granite capitol of Texas on January 4, 1899. The Spanish War with its triumphs and scandals had just ended. The conquest of the Philippines was about to begin.

Garner's arrival was two weeks before the legislature was scheduled to convene. He wanted schooling in his duties, acquaintances and time to mature his plans for the session. Garner did not know a half-dozen people in Austin when he arrived. But in two weeks the friendly, engaging young man knew all the legislators and the key men in every department. In anticipation of two hot fights which loomed ahead—insurance and railroad regulation—he began a study of trusts and monopolies.

Garner started his legislative career by sponsoring two lost causes. He backed for Speaker a man who had first-class ability but no chance for election. He then came out for the adoption of a new Texas constitution, knowing perfectly well that he could not win. But he was voting and acting on principle, in line with the nominating descriptions of an ideal lawmaker.

His first real service in the Texas House was as the maiden member of the Appropriation Committee. Largely by Garner's doing, it became known as the "Blue Beard Committee" where many pork-barrel bills were summarily beheaded. This group handled 200 special appropriation bills during Garner's first session. Only four came out with the pruning committee's recommendation for enactment.

This experience marked the beginning of Garner's forty-year fight for economy in government. In his short life he had learned how hard men worked to make the money that went into taxes. He hated to see public money frittered away. His legislative district was far western, sparsely settled and practically anhydrous. People were struggling to get along in stock raising and were building their family lives for future generations. There had to be, as Garner saw it, a good reason for every dollar which the government took from these people's toil.

In the legislature another aspect of Garner's character began to develop—his hearty distaste for legislative trivia. He already believed in the principle of fewer laws and sounder ones. For forty years perhaps his most important service to American legislation was to act as a check on the flood of unsound or unimportant measures that impede the progress of the few vital bills before any lawmaking body.

One day a fellow-legislator proposed a resolution of sympathy for the Boers in their war with Great Britain. Garner quickly moved to refer it to the committee on federal resolutions, adding with quiet

to the struggle in South Africa.

Garner's first long legislative tussle was the insurance fight. The growth of corporate enterprise had stirred the first mutterings against the trusts. Texas, flourishing, but with a scattered farm population, was a particularly rich field for the great Eastern insurance companies which were taking huge sums out of the state annually.

Garner quickly got behind a bill to compel these companies either to invest a large portion of their premium returns in the state or give up their Texas business. The companies, alert to guard their interests, quickly organized a campaign of protests along modern lines, only to stimulate Garner's defiance:

"If the insurance companies doing business in Texas belong to a trust either in or out of the state, I want to see them driven out. I believe the common people of Texas want to see this bill enacted into law. These telegraphic protests of my position have no effect on me. I shall act as I deem best for the majority of the people, regardless of all else."

This determination to protect the masses against exploitation by powerful organized interests appears again and again on the Garner record. But he never stooped to rabble-rousing half-truths. He relied on a sound knowledge of economic facts ingrained by his business experience, on the habit of temperate study formed during his judgeship, on his instinctive understanding of people and their problems.

This accounts for his attitude toward railroads at the turn of the century. Unquestionably the railroads had been welcomed with open arms and all possible inducements a few years before, but the Eastern tycoons were now taking advantage of the country's need for transportation to exploit the people and the states of the new West.

In a generation the railroad kings had evolved a system of rebates, discriminatory rates and questionable bookkeeping that brought unconscionable profits pouring into their coffers, and also brought the formation of the Texas Railroad Commission in an effort to keep railroad highhandedness in check.

Garner was fixed in his conviction that business can be regulated without strangulation. Common carriers and public utilities were a great need in the developing new state. His own district, although bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, had no water outlet and scarcely a

tenth of the rail mileage it needed. Actually, he thought, it was just possible that Texas was more dependent upon the railroads than the railroads were on Texas. The vast young state might be retarded in its development for decades unless the railroads were encouraged sufficiently to link the cattle lands and spreading farm areas with their logical markets. He urged moderation but voted for measures to compel railroads to handle freight unloaded by intercoastal steamships at Gulf ports without discriminatory charges.

The legislature adjourned with railroad regulatory problems still unsettled.

In his zeal for bringing the government closer home to the people he had advocated that Texas divide itself into five states as it had the right to do under its treaty of annexation with the United States. This plan would have given the Texas area greater power in the United States Senate and more votes in the Presidential electoral college. But the state, proud of its size, reacted unfavorably. In Washington, Senator Joseph W. Bailey thundered:

"You may divide Texas, but to which state will you give the Alamo?"

Garner's first legislative term in Austin had been a productive one. He had *lived* legislative government. He was going to keep on living it until January 21, 1941, the day he ended his public career. Among the other things he had learned was that democratic lawmaking is largely a matter of give-and-take and that much of this is done on a promissory basis. Thus no legislator's influence is worth any more than his spoken word. Garner said:

"Whatever it costs you to keep your word, the price is reasonable."

He went home from the session more eager than ever to make good in the business of government. At nights he read history and studied parliamentary law. He still played some poker, but his home work and his mounting correspondence, even with Mrs. Garner's help, took more and more time.

In June 1900, he was a delegate to the Democratic national convention at Kansas City which gave Bryan his second nomination as the party's Presidential candidate. Bryan was snowed under by McKinley, but Garner won re-election to the state legislature without opposition.

The railroad issue was still dominant when he returned to Austin. At the head of the opposition to the carriers was former James Stephen

Hogg, father of the Texas Railroad Commission Act. Although out of office for six years, Hogg kept up his fight for railroad reform and regulation. In 1900, he asserted, the lines had issued 232,000 passes, mostly to public officials. Hogg wanted the practice outlawed by a \$5,000 fine. This measure and some others came before the legislature in package form, known as the Hogg Amendments.

The fight quickly became one of the bitterest ever staged at the Texas capitol. Hogg desired to appear in person to fight for his reforms. But the opposition, recognizing the ex-governor's persuasive eloquence, built a barrier of obstacles.

When it seemed that the issue had reached an impasse which would stall the wheels of legislation completely and leave a lasting bitterness between the factions, Garner moved into the picture as a mediator.

Despite his admiration for Hogg, the Uvaldian was not convinced of the wisdom and practicability of all the proposals. Some he favored, some he believed would impede the development of the Southwest. Hogg wanted them in a package, no compromise, all or none. Garner never liked a take-all-or-take-none attitude, but was willing for Hogg to have an opportunity to explain his sweeping demands.

"I am not for making a political punching bag out of the railroads," Garner said. "I think we can find a way to take care of the buccaneers without hampering the developers."

He specified the parts of the Hogg proposals which he favored and the parts he opposed. Then he introduced a resolution to invite the former governor to appear before a joint committee of the two Houses of the legislature. By adroit manipulation Garner won his point. Hogg made his speech. Garner for the first time had distinguished himself as an oiler of troubled water.

Later, while the amendments were before the House, the Speaker suggested that someone capable of giving an objective view of the issues be granted the floor. From both sides came cries for Garner.

The press reported his appearance thus:

"He is instructed by the people of his district to vote for the amendments, but he is personally opposed to them. He argued that the party mandate is binding and said that before he would violate instructions laid down by his constituents he would resign.

"Asked, 'What would you do first, violate your oath to support the

federal constitution or violate the instruction of your people?' Mr. Garner replied that the proposed amendments were not a violation of the federal constitution; if he thought they were, he would resign rather than vote for them."

Another correspondent reported:

"Mr. Garner was forced into making a speech on the question and he made an able one. While personally opposed to the amendments, he feels that it is a party demand and that he must support them.

"His speech pleased both the friends and the opponents of the measure and was a great piece of oratorical and argumentative diplomacy of which Mr. Garner is capable."

The Hogg Amendments were defeated, although their provisions for the greater part later became law.

For his part Garner emerged from the railroad war one of the dominant figures of the legislature. He had a progressive label but was a man whose personal friendship and political acumen was sought after by all factions. A legislative writer of the period recalls that "Garner was the one man in the House who made his points in open debate without making enemies, who could separate political issues and personal relations completely. He could, when he felt it necessary, challenge his closest friends on the floor without marring that friendship."

The fact that he had accepted instruction from a party convention to support legislation which complete study had convinced him to be unwise, had put him in an unhappy personal position. He decided on a course of candor which would have been suicidal for ninety-nine political figures in a hundred but became the winning card in the Garner deck. Before he was ever elected to representative office again, he would have an understanding with his constituents of the responsibilities of a Representative.

In many instances the Garner of 1900 was seeing too far ahead to win majority support. He foresaw, for example, the dominant part mechanization would play in the American scheme and worked earnestly to establish technical training in the schools of the state. He failed and it was ten years before the courses were established.

Where regional matters were concerned he stood as the spokesman for all that far-flung Western area. In his second legislative term he

appeared often in this role. Thus his demand for a state bounty on ravaging wolves:

"The people from the thickly settled counties seem to think, or at least act, as though west and southwest Texas were not a part of Texas, except for purposes of paying taxes. We pay into the Treasury hundreds of thousands of dollars, and when we come to the legislature to ask for a small sum of money to protect our lives and property from the ravages of wild animals, we are told that the state cannot afford the expense and that we must protect ourselves. I submit that this is unfair to those people who are struggling to make a living in that section and at the same time prepare it for occupation by future generations."

By such legislation in the interest of stockmen at large, he had spread the people's reliance on him far beyond the county to which he was directly responsible. He had, in fact, won the attention and respect of all politically minded Texans and prepared the way for his next step.

It is a political axiom that the more prominence a public figure attains, the better target he makes for legislative and editorial brickbats. So it is more than an interesting fact that a study of legislative records and Austin newspaper correspondence at the time fails to disclose an uncomplimentary or disparaging shot at the Garner record. This despite the fact that, with characteristic candor, he set out to do what few men had attempted—the carving out of his own Congressional district.

Garner had not, as so many young politicians do, neglected business to put all his eggs in the treacherous political basket. He had simply superimposed the politician on the businessman. His law business flourished during his terms at Austin, and between sessions, he added to his ranch and bank holdings. In 1901, at the age of thirty-three, he was a solid citizen with property valued at from \$40,000 to \$50,000. He was fully equipped, financially and in experience, to move into the national political picture.

The census of 1900 had confirmed the development he had foreseen years before: that rapidly growing Texas was ready for redistricting. Its population had shot up from 2,235,527 to 3,048,710 between 1890 and 1900. Garner felt he was ready for Congressional service. But he had observed that large, thinly populated districts usually return

their man to Congress indefinitely, and had decided to work for a reapportionment division which would place Uvalde in such a district.

He had made no secret of his ambitions. He thought he was the best Congressional timber available and worked assiduously to win the support of his colleagues for his proposal.

He asked to be and was made chairman of the committee on redistricting and carved out a district for himself. Then he took the floor and told his astonished colleagues that the bill he was asking them to pass was framed by him for the express purpose of creating a Congressional district in which he could be elected to Congress. Amazed at the man's frankness, his colleagues gave him the district which sixteen times elected him to Congress, one of those times when he was being elected Vice-President of the United States at the same time. This latter came about because Garner had been renominated for Congress when his Vice-Presidential nomination was made. The situation created a dual race.

Home to Uvalde with a personally created Congressional district beckoning, he still had the essential accomplishment ahead. He had to be elected. He announced immediately for Congress, the fifty-eighth. To his regret so did a very able, distinguished and much more mature citizen, the Honorable Joseph B. Dibrell, who had represented Uvalde and neighboring counties in the state Senate for a number of years. Dibrell's friends were numerous, including many lawyers and county officials.

"I campaigned in a buckboard, driving a gray mare and a little mule," Garner said. "I passed up most of the county seats on the theory that the county officeholders, the lawyers and the politicians were against me. Why should I let them know what I was doing? But I did see nearly every other person in the district and most of the people outside the county seats were for me."

If Dibrell had the support of the county machines, Garner had not lacked newspaper support. Most of the newspapers in the district were country weeklies. They were not particularly well edited, brilliantly written or objective in viewpoint, but the most of them were for erstwhile Uvalde Editor Garner.

Garner's ideas on certain fundamentals were well matured in the thirty-fourth year of his life. On these issues the manner of his

thinking was illustrated in his speeches and platform in the second year of the twentieth century. He highlighted fiscal problems as he was to continue to do in thirty-eight years of service in Washington. On two of them—the then nonexistent income tax and the tariff which furnished most of the revenue to run a federal government then costing around a half-billion dollars annually—his views were significant. He said:

“I favor an income tax as a means of raising revenue and regard it as the most equitable mode of taxation. I oppose the raising by taxation of more than is needed for the administration of the government, economically managed. It is just as necessary to watch the expenditure of the people’s money after it is collected as it is to devise means for taxing the people to produce revenue. I, therefore, oppose centralization of government at Washington. It is a Republican principle and contrary to all Democratic teaching. I favor local self-government for the people.”

He opposed the use of the tariff for any other purpose than to raise revenue at the customs houses.

“I favor a tariff fairly and justly imposed and so levied as not to discriminate against sections or industries,” he said. “So long as it is the policy of the government to raise revenue by tariff, and afford by such tariff incidental protection, then I insist that the raw material of the South and especially hides, wool and livestock, shall receive the same degree of protection that may be afforded to the manufactured articles. We must buy from other countries if we are to sell to them. Therefore, the tariff should be competitive.

“The doctrine of free raw materials tends to make a free trade South and West and a protected North and East, making unequal the burdens of taxation and increasing the wealth of the last two sections, and decreasing the wealth of the first two.”

On labor he favored the right to organize and bargain collectively, an eight-hour day for factory workers and other city workers where possible, and a department of labor in the President’s Cabinet. He opposed compulsory arbitration because “the great danger in such a system lies in the opportunity of placing improper persons in the position of arbitrator.”

On national defense he said:

"I favor a strong navy—as strong as that of Great Britain—which will cause our flag to be respected and will help our commerce penetrate to all shores. I oppose a large standing army. Transportation—rail, vehicular roads and waterways—which the country sorely needs, is better for national defense than guns which quickly become obsolete."

On other issues, he said:

"Trusts and monopolies restrict competition, increase prices, depress wages and rob the consumers of the country. Those trusts which control the prices of all articles necessary to the upbuilding of the country should be dissolved. The tariff should be taken off commodities controlled by them and the market opened to the whole world.

"Irrigation of the western states should be by national action. If we have the right to build levees along the Mississippi—and we do, because flood waters do not stop at state lines—we have the right to store the flood waters for reclamation of the arid regions.

"No territory should be added to the United States save for the purpose of converting it into states whose inhabitants shall be citizens. The Philippines should be given their independence.

"The Panama Canal should be constructed at an early date. It can be a great factor in the development of our commerce.

"The tax on oleomargarine is class legislation of the most dangerous sort, unjust and sectional in its intentions, and gravely detrimental to the cattle interests and the cotton-seed interests of this country."

His fairness to an opponent was exhibited in a speech at Sabinal, where his opponent Dibrell was scheduled to meet him in joint debate but was unable to keep the engagement. An account of it in the Sabinal *Sentinel* quoted Garner:

"It has been reported that Judge Dibrell is an enemy of organized labor but he has told me that this is not true and I believe him. My own position is clear on this issue. I do not want my opponent's position misrepresented. I will never resort to trickery, untruths or half-truths to win votes."

County after county went for Garner. The decisive one was Atascosa. Garner carried it by 200 votes. When Dibrell's manager telephoned the result over the single noisy telephone line into the county, Garner's opponent withdrew.

In his announcement of withdrawal, Dibrell had said:

"My time has been completely occupied with business for over two months and I have not been able to give my canvass for Congress any attention. For this reason the opposition against me has virtually secured my defeat."

The *Devine News*, a weekly, quipped:

"Senator Dibrell gives as his reason for withdrawing, the fact that his business was so pressing. We imagine it was Garner who was so pressing."

Dibrell tried again. In a second statement he said:

"Garner will make a great Congressman. The only thing urged against him is his youth. It is no crime to be young. He has been called a 'bantam rooster,' but he has two spurs, both gaffed, as anyone will find out who runs up against him. No one is better able to speak from experience than I am. He may not make a great oratorical display in Congress, but while an unwary antagonist is making a speech Garner will know what he wants, will go out and work for it and get it.

"He is as bright as a new made dollar and as clean as unsoiled linen. I doubt if he has ever done anything that is not creditable to him or ever will. It is not in the nature of the man."

Garner was given an acclamation nomination at the Congressional convention at Laredo, and the privilege of outlining his own platform.

James B. Wells of Brownsville, a veteran Texas political leader, had been Garner's sponsor in the western part of his district. Pat Dunn of Nueces, a rancher and principal owner of 115-mile long Padre Island, had taken care of the eastern part of the district.

Congressional candidate Garner and supporter Dunn met for the first time in a milling crowd in the lobby of the Tremont Hotel at Galveston, when the state convention met to ratify Congressional convention nominations.

Garner, dressed for warm weather, wore a seersucker suit. He was undersized and none too prepossessing, and in no way the physical Congressional type Dunn pictured.

A friend introduced them.

"I didn't catch the name," said Dunn.

"Garner," replied the candidate.

"What, you are not John Garner?"

"I am," was the reply.

"And you are the man I am supporting for Congress?"

"Yes, sir."

Dunn shook hands none too warmly and went off to hunt up Judge Wells.

"Judge," he said, "we have always been good friends. There is just one understanding I want with you. The next time you ask me to support a man, you are not going to get a commitment out of me until I have seen him first."

Garner still had a Republican opponent to defeat.

Politically the district was the most doubtful one in Texas. It had thousands of Republican voters and the G.O.P. put forward John C. Scott, a shrewd, successful and leading Corpus Christi lawyer. Scott was heavily bank-rolled by E. H. R. Green, son of Hetty Green, the woman wizard of Wall Street. There were Republican newspapers in the district and they hammered Garner.

Said one newspaper, rather ineptly named as far as Garner was concerned, the Corpus Christi *Crony*:

"If Garner won out, he could never even ascertain at Washington who wanted the postmastership at his own home town of Uvalde. If Scott were elected he could obtain all the information at Washington. Garner would be an outsider; Scott would be one of the gang."

And the Texas *Sun* said:

"Mr. Garner in the improbable event of his election would get nothing from the government but his salary—that he could be depended on to get with mathematical regularity, but how much good would that do his constituents? It would take a big man, who as a Democrat could get substantial recognition. It is absurd to imagine he would carry any weight with the administration or influence with Congress or be of any service to his constituents.

"The only way he could get into the *Congressional Record* would be by hiring some contract writer to prepare a speech for him which he could send to the Speaker by a page boy, with the request that it be printed in the *Record*. This would be done as a matter of course, but as to his getting recognition by the Speaker, nonsense. He would

never be heard from on the floor or in the committee rooms; he is utterly too small from any point of view to accomplish *anything*."

Garner's final majority was six thousand.

He went to Washington, with one of the most unusual arrangements with his constituency ever made by any Representative. It constituted his idea of party platforms and representative governments and he let it be known what his attitude would be if at any time he got a flood of telegrams such as he got at Austin, during the insurance fight. He outlined the agreement in a speech in Corpus Christi, during the campaign.

"Most of the unpleasant situations which arise come from misunderstanding," he said. "Therefore, I want a distinct understanding. The convention which nominated me drew a specific platform on some issues. On those there is an understanding between us. On other matters which arise, I want to make my position clear. This is a representative government. I want to be elected your representative and to serve this district as long as I can be your *representative*. I propose to study legislation and understand it to the best of my ability. I want the views of my constituents if you elect me. But when a piece of legislation is in its final form and comes up for a vote, you won't be there. You will be down here attending to your business. I propose to make up my mind on any measure and cast my vote according to what I think is in the public interest."

The people of Corpus Christi liked that arrangement so well that in 1909 they presented him with a watch which he was still carrying in 1948. It bears the inscription:

To John N. Garner, from the people of Corpus Christi, in grateful appreciation of faithful service.

Freshman in Congress

JOHAN NANCE GARNER, Representative from the Fifteenth Texas Congressional District, walked into the historic chamber of the House of Representatives on November 9, 1903, and took a back seat in a body then composed of 398 members.

President Theodore Roosevelt had called an extraordinary session of the Fifty-Eighth Congress to approve his Reciprocal Commercial Convention with Cuba.

Garner's first vote was to be on the selection of a new Speaker. Scotland-born David Bremner Henderson, at the end of two terms as House presiding officer, had retired to his Iowa farm. The choice for his successor was between two of the all-time greats of Congressional history.

The Republican nominee was Joseph Gurney Cannon of Illinois, sixty-seven years old, and already a power in the House, chairman of the Appropriations Committee. The Democrats had put forward John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, nearly twenty years younger than Cannon, the best-educated member of the House of Representatives and perhaps the best debater of all the Democrats, then serving. There was no doubt about the outcome. The House was Republican. Cannon was elected, 198 to 167, with 19 not voting, and began his eight-year term, the longest continuous one of any Speaker to that time. Williams became minority leader.

The distinction of the members of the House in the Fifty-Eighth Congress equaled that of any in American history, excelled any in the twentieth century. It was the beginning of the short-lived golden age of the more numerous branch of Congress. Its members were for the next four decades to furnish more headlines than those of any House of Representatives of all time.

Joe Robinson of Arkansas; Carter Glass of Virginia; George W. Norris and Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska; Nicholas Longworth of Ohio; J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama; William Randolph Hearst of New York; Victor Murdock of Kansas; Arsene P. Pujo of Louisiana; Ollie James and Swager Sherley of Kentucky; Andrew J. Volstead and J. Adam Bede of Minnesota; Butler Ames of Massachusetts; Big Tim Sullivan and Francis Burton Harrison of New York; Asbury Lever of South Carolina; Morris Sheppard and Jack Beall of Texas and Campbell Slemph of Virginia were some of the rookie Congressmen who faced the dais for the first time and took the oath from Uncle Joe in his first hour as Speaker.

The parade of future Congressional celebrities which accompanied Garner over the threshold of history that day and the sitting members already there had the makings of:

Three future Vice-Presidents: Sherman, Curtis, Garner.

Five future Speakers: Clark, Gillette, Longworth, Rainey, Garner.

Three Cabinet members: Burleson, Glass, Swanson.

Three tariff-bill authors: Payne, Underwood, Fordney.

An anti-trust-law author: Clayton.

An eight-hour-day creator: Adamson.

The prohibition amendment and enforcement act writers: Sheppard and Volstead.

The Federal Reserve Act architect: Glass.

And quite an assortment of names for the history books to come.

The Six J's and Sereno took control of the House when Cannon became Speaker. Joe, John and the four Jims were the oligarchy. John Dalzell on the Rules Committee was really Cannon's second in command. Jim Sherman, Jim Hemenway, Jim Tawney and Jim Watson carried out the orders. Sereno Payne was officially floor leader but devoted himself principally to his chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee and tariff chores.

Cannon understood the place of the House in the government scheme, made it respected and performed his duty to the House as he saw it. Even with a popular President in the White House he could lift his branch of Congress to its highest peak, prove that it need not be submerged. He could tell Theodore Roosevelt, as he did, that "the House

could take care of its reputation and its dignity in its own way."

Garner was to have close friendships with nearly every one of the toplineers of the Fifty-Eighth Congress. With one of them, Nick Longworth, a freshman from Ohio, he was to have perhaps the most famous friendship of Congressional history.

The Cuban reciprocity bill passed the House in ten days, on November 19. Most of the Democratic party jumped the fence to support it. Only twenty votes were cast against. One of those was the vote of John N. Garner.

Garner in a statement said his opposition to the bill was in line with the platform upon which he was elected.

"I can do but one thing—vote against this bill," he said. "I told the people of the Fifteenth District of Texas that I was opposed to trusts and would do everything in my power to destroy them. Now to ask me to cast my first vote in Congress for legislation to benefit two of the most gigantic trusts this country has ever known is asking too much. It is asserted that we are benefiting Cuba when we pass this bill, but every man who reads the press of the country knows that the principal products exported from Cuba to the United States are tobacco and sugar, and that more than 90 per cent of each of these articles produced by Cuba is controlled by the respective trusts."

He was to maintain throughout his public life that a platform promise was a solemn covenant with his constituency.

The big names and big reputations of the members of the House of Representatives in no way awed Garner. He told me:

"When they came into close range they appeared different to me than they did before I got to Washington. I decided that in time I might do as well as anyone there. I got just as ambitious as anyone. I concluded that, if I did not have as much talent as some members, I could devote more energy to the job. I knew it was a long climb. So for the first few years I just answered roll calls, looked after chores for my constituents, studied, played poker and got acquainted.

"Instead of attempting to start right out making laws I decided to get acquainted with men who were in the business of making laws. Lawmaking is a high calling. I intended to try to stay for a long time and I had no idea of trying to attract attention to myself by cheap or trivial methods.



A vivid proof of the pride Texas was to have in Garner. This was drawn when Garner had established his position and was being considered as a 1932 Presidential possibility. (C. K. Berryman, *Washington Star*)

"I not only wanted to, without intruding, get acquainted with the men who occupied the high place, I wanted also to get acquainted with the men who began their service at the time I did. It was with these men I hoped to work longest. I studied not only legislation, but especially I studied men. They came from all parts of the country and represented every variety of thought. If you knew them all, you knew human nature and you very nearly knew the country.

"That first session increased my respect for competency and political aptitude. I learned that ability unsupported by character is a dangerous thing. You could tell who was solid and who was a false alarm by watching them on the floor or reading the *Congressional Record*."

The salary of a Congressman was \$5,000 a year when Garner began his service and he intended to live on that if possible. Mrs. Garner was insistent on that, too. She knew her husband faced two gauntlets

in Texas the next year—first a campaign under the newly enacted primary election law and then Republican opposition in the general election. She frankly doubted if he would be sent back to Washington. They found for themselves one of the Washington boarding houses of that day, conducted by Mrs. Lillie B. Creel on K Street, just across from Franklin Park. The office building for members of the House of Representatives had not been built and the Garners fitted up a room in the boarding house and used it for an office. Mrs. Garner, as the secretary, answered the mail.

Within two weeks after his arrival in Congress and within a day or two after voting against the Cuban reciprocity convention, Garner went to the White House to pay his respects to the redoubtable Theodore Roosevelt, who recalled a hunting trip in the Uvalde area while he was in San Antonio training the Rough Riders.

Garner suggested to the President that the Rough Riders ought to hold their next convention at San Antonio and the President ought to attend.

"The people in Texas like you, Mr. President," he said. "They would show you a grand time. They'd do anything for you except vote for you."

That was the beginning of a friendship between the President and the young Texas Representative.

Garner had hardly got set in Washington before one of those duties which a member of Congress must perform for his district came up. The War Department was considering abandoning several cavalry posts and the one at Brownsville, in his district, was one of them.

"Well, that was part of my job I hadn't thought about," he said. "I didn't know what to do but an older member told me to go see the Secretary of War. I went to Secretary Taft's office. A clerk or somebody asked me my name and my business. I told him but that didn't seem to make any impression. I sat and sat. Finally I asked the man if he had forgotten me. He said no, just wait. I waited and waited. After a while he motioned to me and led me to a door. A lot of people had gone through the door but none had come out. As I went in, the man told me I could only stay a few minutes. I walked to Taft's desk.

"Hardly looking up he asked me what I wanted. I told him about the

troopers and he said he would make a note of it. Before I could say anything else, his secretary was ushering me through a side door.

"Ten days passed. I heard nothing from the Secretary of War. But I heard plenty from my district. I had received so many telegrams that I knew I would never come back to Congress if Brownsville lost the cavalry. This time I went to the War Department and stood outside the little door through which callers were dismissed. The first time they opened that door and a man got put out, I grabbed the door and walked in. Before the secretary could say anything I walked to Taft's desk and began talking. I thought I was entitled to the courtesy of an answer to my inquiry and I made this known in no uncertain terms. I was so vehement that Mr. Taft looked up in astonishment, and said, 'Young man, what's the matter? Have a seat.'

"As I did, he swung his chair around and asked me what he could do. He evidently remembered nothing about my previous visit.

"'It's about the cavalry,' I said.

"'What cavalry?' he asked.

"'The troopers at Brownsville.'

"'What about them?'

"'You are planning on moving them and you can't move them. It's a matter of economics to us.'

"'Economics, what has the cavalry to do with economics?'

"'Mr. Secretary, it's this way. We raise a lot of hay in my district. We've got a lot of stores and we have the prettiest girls in the United States. The cavalry buys the hay for its horses, spends its pay in the stores, marries our girls, gets out of the army and helps us develop the country and then more replacements come and do the same thing. It *is* economics, sir. It *is* economics.'

"Taft chuckled. 'I won't move the cavalry without talking to you,' he said, and I left.

"In a few days I was notified that President Roosevelt wanted to see me. With some misgiving I went to the White House. He told me to have a seat and then looked at me sternly and inquired:

"'Young man, what is this I hear you have been telling my Secretary of War?'

"'Nothing, sir, but giving him a little lesson in economics,' I answered.

"'Now look here,' replied the President, 'the next time you are giving any lessons in economics, you see me first. Why, don't you know the word about what you told of the attractions has got around and half the army is applying for transfer to Brownsville?'"

"We both laughed and then he said: 'I called you here to tell you that the cavalry will still patrol your border.'"

"Taft never forgot the incident. After he became Chief Justice, we met frequently at the Capitol and each time he would walk up, take me by the hand, draw me close and inquire:

"'Well, John, how is the cavalry getting along?'"

In December 1903, Garner crowded into the tiny Supreme Court chamber midway between Senate and House chambers to hear the argument in the Great Northern Securities case. It had been for months and would be for months more to come the biggest source of interest and speculation in Washington and the country. It was one of the great historical test cases, for the outcome would decide—so many thought—whether the United States was governed from Wall Street or Washington.

It was all such a conglomeration of James J. Hill and E. H. Harri-man, the rail titans; of Great Northern and Northern Pacific and other confused interlocking control and Roosevelt trust busting that the average citizen had trouble in understanding it. Garner was especially interested in this case. He was fresh from railroad legislative battles in Texas and hoped for a decision that would preserve free competition between the carriers, but would not hamper the building of new rail lines which his state needed so badly.

Theodore Roosevelt was determined that the Northern Securities Company should be dissolved. Taking all necessary precautions to see that the government won he engaged in a tidy bit of court packing. He talked with Lodge about the Supreme Court vacancy and was convinced that Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, held views coinciding with his. Holmes at sixty-one thus began his long career on the highest tribunal. Roosevelt expected a clear-cut seven to two verdict in his favor. When the decision came down the dissolution of Northern Securities had been ordered, but on this issue Roosevelt had squeaked through with a five to four victory and Holmes was one of the four against him.

Even the five Justices who decided for the dissolution wrote a far less conclusive decision than T. R. had expected. Garner considered the decision a dogfall which left issues of regulation up to Congress.

On December 7, Speaker Cannon, sole dispenser of Congressional committee favors, handed out the assignments. Garner got about what a Congressional tyro could expect, a place on the Committee on Railways and Canals.

The day the assignments were announced Garner dropped into the hopper a bill providing a survey for an intracoastal canal, which would eventually connect Brownsville and Corpus Christi in his district with the Mississippi and Ohio. It was so adroitly worded that it would have to go to his new committee instead of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Reporting on the matter, the correspondent of the *Dallas News* said:

"In the committee lottery, which has just been pulled off in the House, Mr. Garner drew that of Railways and Canals. It is said by some of the ancient habitués of the capital that far back in the dim and musty past, before American legislation commenced to grow whiskers, the Committee on Railways and Canals had a meeting but these dealers in Washington reminiscences admit that the report is strongly tinctured with the vital attributes of fiction.

"Mr. Garner proposes to give the committee something like a shock which Gabriel's trumpet will hand out to slumbering humanity on the morn of resurrection by having a bill referred to it for consideration. He has already introduced the bill and it now remains to be seen just what sort of effect the assembling of this committee will have on the sensibilities of Congress. If the committee is revitalized successfully, Mr. Garner will have accomplished much, but it is feared he had disturbed the traditions."

The *Galveston News*, commenting editorially, said:

"Congressman Garner was appointed a member of the House Committee on Railways and Canals. Just to find out if such a committee really existed, he has introduced a bill which must go to it for consideration. Mr. Garner is always admirable in the beginning of a game to find out exactly how it is played."

Some Texas papers attacked the intracoastal canal proposal as ridiculous. But Garner said it was anything but that.

Appearing at a meeting at Victoria, Texas, to organize the Intracoastal Canal Association, he said:

"It may take fifty years to complete it, but it will be authorized and completed from the Rio Grande to the Mississippi. It will be a protected inland waterway and as such a national defense bulwark."

The periodical, *Southern Industrialist*, praised the intracoastal canal project as a long-visioned one.

Representative James H. Davidson, of Wisconsin, chairman of the Committee on Railways and Canals, was never more astonished than when his clerk informed them there was a bill before his committee. Davidson once had been a stern schoolmaster and he didn't like practical jokes. It was March before he got his committee together. It held hearings and reported the bill unanimously. Then the committee went back to its slumbers and played host to no more fledgling legislation.

The Garner bill after a legislative buffeting became law. Forty-five years later, in 1948, the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway, fathered by Garner, extended from the west coast of Florida to the Mexican border, connecting midway at New Orleans with the vast inland waterway system of the nation. It carried millions of tons of cargo annually and had changed its Rio Grande to the Mississippi slogan to "from Mexico to Maine."

A month after his arrival in Washington, Garner was perplexed by the perennial headache of Senators and Representatives of that day, insufficient supplies of field and garden seed, and he wrote to John Moore of Seguin what he said was the first and last letter of apology or explanation he ever wrote to his district. His letter to Moore said:

"The impression seems to prevail that the Secretary of Agriculture will distribute, through the Congressmen, free seed to each farmer; but from the enclosed letters you will see that there are only 220 bags apportioned to each Congressman, and that it would be an impossible matter to comply with the many hundreds of requests I have already received.

"As you know, there are twenty-two counties in the Fifteenth Congressional District, and the quota of seed allowed me only permits ten bags to each county and I shall do my best to distribute it as equitably as possible."

Congress and its duties were the whole life of Garner in his early years there.

There was sparkle in the debates, extraordinary aura of excitement on such occasions as when Bourke Cockran, the best Democratic orator in the House matched against John Dalzell, most redoubtable Republican.

No speeches could arouse Garner's faculty of delight like those of John Sharp Williams.

"Williams' speeches were polished and stately, and they were always entertaining," he said. "You wanted to hear them and you wanted to read them afterwards."

Once Garner acted as peacemaker between Williams and the acerb De Armond of Missouri, both Democrats, when they were near to fistcuffs in the lobby of the House.

"The three of us together were not as big as Ollie James of Kentucky who looked on in amusement only a couple of steps away," Garner said.

Peacemaker Garner weighed 123 pounds at the time, while of the gladiators, the belligerent De Armond weighed in at 124 pounds and the bellicose Williams at 125.

During the session Williams grumbled because the House liquor bar had been closed. It had been in operation since time immemorial. But as Congress hurried to a March 4 adjournment, on March 3, 1903, a rider had been attached to an appropriation bill expressly stating that "no alcoholic beverages of any character whatsoever shall be sold within the limits of the Capitol building."

It was, said Williams, "Sham and hypocrisy."

But Shoomaker's, a famous saloon, was close by.

Williams was keen as a minority floor leader. The G.O.P. had a majority of only thirty votes. Williams could melt that majority away unless Speaker Cannon and his lieutenants kept wide awake.

"Cannon and Williams that session were shining marks in the case for the two party system," Garner said. "I doubt if a multiparty legislative body could have developed two such men. One had a definite majority behind him. The other had a cohesive minority. There was responsibility. There were no blocs."

The poker games Garner played were generally with the biggest men in the House of Representatives. They were useful in getting votes for

the few bills he sponsored, but principally as an insight into the character of the men with whom he played.

His first game with "Uncle Joe" Cannon occurred at the Boar's Nest, a private club. A printed account of the game in a gossip magazine of the day described it:

"There was a huge pyramid of white, blue, red and yellow chips in the center of the table. From opposite sides the Speaker and Mr. Garner gazed on it with equal expectancy, everyone else having lost all but a cursory interest in it. It came to a showdown. The Speaker proudly displayed three aces and a pair of insignificant others. Mr. Garner counted out four fours, and blandly inquired. 'Will that be enough, Mr. Speaker?'

"'Sir,' replied the Speaker, 'any man who can do that honestly—honestly mind you—has my profound admiration.'"

The chances for getting four of a kind are once in four thousand, one hundred and sixty-five deals.

From then on Speaker Cannon and Garner were close friends. Before the end of his first term, on February 25, 1905, the House was ready to consider a resolution to set aside a day to receive the statues of the Texas heroes, Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston, in the Capitol's statuary hall. Cannon looked over on the Democratic side, ignored Burleson and the other seniors in the Texas delegation and beckoned Garner to the Speaker's chair to preside. Joe Cannon may have thought he was merely furnishing a pleasant episode for the short and simple annals of a rookie Representative. But Garner had another idea.

"When I left the Speaker's chair that day," he told me later, "I had made up my mind I was going back as its elected occupant. That night in my boarding hotel, I started studying parliamentary proceedings. Thereafter, if ever before, I never wanted to be Judge, Governor, Senator, President or Vice-President. I wanted to stay a member of the House and, if possible, become its Speaker. So I studied and watched Uncle Joe. I voted against him many times, but I rate him the greatest of modern Speakers. He would have been that regardless of the rules under which he operated, and which we finally amended to take power away from him. He was greatest because of his character. He knew exactly what he wanted to do and exactly how to do it."

On January 5, 1905, Garner made the first remarks he ever made on the floor of the House, questioning Representative Ebenezer J. Hill of Connecticut, on a currency matter.

On January 30, he introduced a bill to levy an income tax by statute, but when members of the Judiciary Committee told him they doubted if such a law would stand a constitutional test in the Supreme Court, Garner did not press his bill.

He thus ended his legislative record for his first Congressional term.

He was in no hurry to get his name before the general public.

The Presidential year of 1904 opened with much uncertainty and speculation. Theodore Roosevelt blandly assumed that, as Presidential incumbent, he had the Republican nomination buttoned up. But his opinion was not shared in Republican cloakrooms. Garner said in a newspaper interview in Texas that he did not believe one-fourth of the Republican House members favored T. R.

Mark Hanna, the kingmaker, who enthroned the martyred McKinley, was said to have his own eye on the White House. Certainly Hanna, either in person or behind another candidate, could have made it tough for Roosevelt. But the kingmaker died in February and from then on the Rough Rider had a clear track to the nomination.

The Democratic situation was much more complicated. Bryan, who had absorbed two successive defeats, announced he would not be a candidate but would continue to fight for progressive ideas.

Garner had been elected as delegate to the Democratic national convention at St. Louis. Many of Bryan's ideas appealed to Garner. The Commoner was the active foe of the trusts, the Eastern bankers and, in fact, every reactionary and oppressive influence in the nation. Where they parted company was on soft money—the silver issue. Bryan was still trying to save the country from crucifixion on the cross of gold.

Garner regarded as unjustified Bryan's attack on Judge Alton B. Parker as "unfit for the nomination." Parker's most formidable opponent was William Randolph Hearst and Bryan put Hearst down on the list of acceptable Presidential nominees. Garner, who had twice supported and once helped to nominate Bryan and who was a House colleague of Hearst, considered that under all the circumstances Parker was the best candidate for the Democrats. At the St. Louis

convention, therefore, Garner voted with the majority for Parker's first ballot nomination.

As matters turned out, no Democrat had a chance, but Garner was disgusted when the convention nominated eighty-one-year-old Henry Gassaway Davis as the Vice-Presidential running mate. The fact that Parker would not campaign and Davis could not, he felt had a large part in Roosevelt's one-sided triumph over Parker.

Garner had no opposition for the Democratic nomination in his district, but faced a Republican opponent and another hot campaign in November.

His off-the-floor activities for his constituents brought him new support and the country weeklies with few exceptions rallied strongly to his side. One newspaper which opposed him made an issue of Garner's alleged dress in Washington.

Just before the election it printed this squib:

"A tale from Washington is to the effect that John Nance Garner, who represents the Fifteenth Congressional District in Washington, attended a swell ball at the White House recently without Mrs. Garner, and danced the square dance with as many of the young girls present as he could, going home early in the morning with his dress suit still undamaged."

Garner, actually, up to that time had been to no dance at the White House with or without Mrs. Garner, and did not yet have a dress suit.

Garner's Republican opponent was J. S. Morin and his majority was less than the election before. But the poll tax, in operation for the first time in Texas, had cut the total vote down by ten thousand in Garner's Congressional district.

Garner's defeated Republican opponent went to Washington and Garner took him to see President Roosevelt. Roosevelt shook hands warmly with both of them. T. R., after a landslide victory was in a happy mood.

"I like you, Garner," Roosevelt said. "I like the way you fight. I like to see men fight hard and when the fight is over shake hands and be friends."

Morin told the President:

"Mr. President, from now on I am a Roosevelt and Garner man. I want Garner to stay in Congress."

Morin back in Texas, said:

"Upon my arrival in Washington, I at once looked up Mr. Garner, our Congressman, who very kindly showed me every courtesy in his power, and I want to say that I firmly believe Mr. Garner is the most influential among the Texas members. He is on excellent terms with the President and all the heads of the departments. He has won the reputation of getting what he goes after and he goes after everything in sight. He is the most valuable man, Democrat or Republican, that this district can put in Washington."

Speaker Cannon again passed out the committee assignments and this time Representative Garner got Foreign Affairs.

Garner's first act as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee was to attend a dinner given to the Committee by Secretary of State Root. After the dinner he said:

"As near as I have been able to figure out the chief functions of the Committee on Foreign Affairs is to attend as many dinners and banquets and do as little work as possible."

But he remained on the committee for eight years, attended its meetings and rose to be its ranking Democratic member. With Secretary Elihu Root he mapped out plans for discussion with Mexico on an agreement or treaty for more equitable distribution of the flood waters of the Rio Grande.

When Garner took his place at the extreme left end of the table in the Foreign Affairs Committee, Nicholas Longworth took his seat at the extreme right end. The hourglass gradually brought them closer together at the table and deepened their friendship.

Longworth was a year younger than Garner, lacking a few days. When Garner was leaving Vanderbilt University, after only a month there, Longworth was entering Harvard. When Garner was reading law in a law office, Longworth was in Harvard law school. The year Garner entered the Texas legislature, Longworth entered the Ohio legislature and they came to Congress together. They had made up their minds for public careers at about the same time.

For a quarter of a century they were to be political foes and fast personal friends. They were to stand at the end of their association as the top Congressional leaders in their respective parties, one as Speaker and the other as leader of the minority.

Both were intense partisans. Their differences and their acrimonious political battles, in which no quarter was given, and their personal devotion to each other became one of the best-known stories in Washington.

Their widely divergent viewpoints first began to manifest themselves in the Foreign Affairs Committee and then on the floor of the House. As they moved into leadership places in their party it became their habit to meet every afternoon after Congress adjourned and review the happenings of the day and the probable happenings of the next day.

Their backgrounds were far different. Longworth came from a first family of Cincinnati and Garner from the frontier.

"I think the very fact of our different rearing intensified our interest in each other," Garner said.

Longworth was the best-dressed man in Congress. Garner for years was among the worst dressers.

Longworth was courting at the White House, shortly after he and Garner became acquainted. On February 17, 1906, the sunniest winter day of that year, he was married to Alice Roosevelt, daughter of the President, in the East Room of the White House. T. R. gave his daughter away in a ceremony performed by the Bishop of Washington.

The wedding was the biggest social event that had occurred in Washington up to that time. The only other to match it in interest was the wedding of President Grover Cleveland and Miss Frances Folsom, in this same East Room.

Eight hundred guests—princes, potentates, diplomats and prominent Americans attended. A few of Longworth's close personal friends from Congress were there. Among them were Mr. and Mrs. Garner.

The Alice-Nick romance had begun on a trip they had made during the summer of 1905, as members of a party that accompanied Secretary of War Taft to the Philippines.

Garner won re-election in 1906, with the Republicans putting up the usual opposition. Garner followed his custom of making no campaign other than an appearance or two and a couple of speeches. Even the one newspaper which had continued to oppose him apparently gave up the fight against him. An editorial paragraph in it read:

"John Garner seems to be so well entrenched that he can bring home

to Texas this year that claw-hammer suit he wore to Nick Longworth's wedding."

Whatever enthusiasms, energies and ideas Garner had in his second term he did not spend them in speechmaking. He used the House floor as a sounding board no more than in his first term. Once or twice he engaged in colloquies, but his only formal remarks were made on April 29, 1906, on the death of Texas Congressman John M. Pinckney. He spent most of his time getting information on problems that would confront Congress.

He was by now spending much of his time with members from the industrial areas. The machine age he had seen coming was at hand. He began to study and discuss in private the problems of industrialism. In his first campaign he had advocated an eight-hour day for factory and city workers and a Cabinet seat for Labor. But he frankly said he would make no tie-up with labor or any other element of the population. In several speeches at home he warned of the dangerous concentration of power that might lodge in big labor unions as it certainly lodged in capitalistic combines. He described his position as "middle ground" and said he would support any "proposal dealing with labor I think wise and oppose any I think unwise." His carefully thought out pronouncements pleased the labor leaders of the day as did his vote for the Employer's Liability Law. In 1906, the magazine *Labor World* took notice of him as follows:

"John N. Garner has ever been a friend of the working man, and has given his unremitting efforts to all legislation that has for its objects the furtherance of the interests of organized labor. He has no sympathy with the ultraradical movements which tend to destroy all the good that has been established by the sound and conservative element, but tries to do all in his power to help along the movements which have as their purpose the betterment of the masses."

He did not get much praise from the ultracapitalists and financial overlords. He said in a Texas speech that same year that Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie, Hill and Harriman were all Republicans and supported Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, despite the fact that Roosevelt was supposedly a trust buster and Alton B. Parker, a conservative.

"There is hardly a rich man who isn't a Republican and hardly a

selfish interest which does not contribute to that party's campaign funds," he said.

Attacking the Republicans for starting and stopping in trust prosecutions, Garner continued to prod for full investigations of the beef and steel trusts. Both were of special interest to his district. The beef trust gouged his cattle raisers and the high steel prices retarded badly needed rail construction in his district.

Back in Washington, for his second term, he had demanded that the Department of Justice "seek by all honorable means the disintegration of the so-called beef trust by which competition is stifled in the purchase of the cattle of our prairies. I demand of the party in power the enforcement of the anti-trust laws against what is known as a combine, to control in selfish interest the cattle market of the West and South."

On May 31, 1906, he introduced a resolution authorizing the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to make an investigation of the costs of iron and steel.

Mostly he preached economy. The cost of government was less than half a billion yearly but Garner thought that too much. The Theodore Roosevelt administration was running a deficit and Garner taunted it for that.

If he was vulnerable, his weakness on governmental economy was on transportation. He was for encouragement of any kind of transportation, good roads, railways and waterways. His Congressional district was larger in square miles than the combined areas of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Delaware. It was a new country, largely isolated. It had no hard roads, no water transportation, inadequate railroads.

Transportation was so inadequate in his district that Garner found it difficult to get over it. Another reason for his intense interest in transportation was that as a youth he had lived in a country where covered wagon and stagecoach were the fastest modes of transportation and he knew all the inconveniences of being shut off from the world.

He introduced a bill for an appropriation of \$10,000,000 for federal aid a decade before such assistance was extended, and said in remarks at the time:

"Let me make a prediction: The time is coming when the federal Treasury will help build good roads."

He got some federal buildings for his district. Of this he said:

"Where it is economically justified the government ought to own the plant it operates in. Under these circumstances when the federal government owns a nice building in a community it is putting its best foot forward there. But I oppose \$50,000 buildings in places where rent on suitable quarters would be less than the interest on the investment. I opposed such expenditures even in my own district."

He made a speech on transportation in Houston on April 5, 1907, after the passage of the Hepburn Act. The new law he explained had as its purpose assurance against unreasonable freight rates.

"But the best regulation of all is water competition," he said. "Whenever there is water competition there are cheap freight rates. I am the friend of the railroads and want to see them so thread this Southwest country that no farmer will have to haul his product more than fifteen miles, and no cowman will have to drive his herd more than the same distance. Keep down monopoly, improve your waterways, encourage the building of railroads and competition will help to solve the rate problem."

Early in his career an incident occurred which he felt gave him for a time an unjust reputation as a spendthrift.

He was quoted as having said:

"Every time one of those Yankees gets a hog, I want at least to get a ham for my district."

Of all the misquotations chalked up against him, Garner thinks that is the worst.

"Of course, I never sought an appropriation on any such ground," he said. "I never asked a dime of government expenditure that I did not have figures to justify on economic grounds. The way this came about is that I was making a speech at Pleasanton, in Atascosa County. I was attempting to illustrate the futility of economy efforts if the people looked upon the United States Treasury as a grab bag. I said: 'Too often the disposition of the people is this: If a man from Massachusetts gets a hog in an appropriation bill, they expect a man from Texas will at least try to get a ham.'

"I was surprised when a newspaper report had me advocating Treasury raiding when I was talking of protecting the Treasury. Perhaps I did not make a very strong effort to correct the misquotation.

I know of no case where a correction ever caught up with an erroneous statement. I have always been content to let my voting record speak for itself."

Garner voted against a bill increasing salaries of Senators and Representatives to \$7,500 a year. Mrs. Garner remained as his secretary and the extra \$100 per month she earned in that capacity came in handy.

At the end of his second term in Congress, Garner and his wife moved from their boarding house to the Burlington Hotel where they kept house in an apartment.

He played poker less and less frequently and quit the late games altogether.

"The last time I stayed late at all, I stayed all night," he said. "When I got home Mrs. Garner was just getting up and starting breakfast. I was ashamed of myself. Uncle Joe was seventy-three and should have known better. I was forty and I knew better."

From then on, Garner was a nine-o'clock man in all things, with rare exceptions.

But by now Garner was beginning to be thought of, both in Washington and Texas, as a Congressional fixture. "You can't get away from Garner," a contemporary observer wrote. "When he throws his arm around your shoulder and gets confidential, you are as helpless as if you were under a hypnotic spell. He has a personality you cannot resist. He could sell you a gold brick and make you rejoice in the investment. There is a subtle and potent charm in the combination of a homely body and a comely character. He is a virile man, one of commanding force to whom good looks could be of no service whatever."

As far as his own party was concerned he was entrenched in his district. When he went home during a recess, the *McAllen Monitor* reported:

"John Garner is home from Washington but not for the purpose of fixing up any gaps in his political fences, for there isn't room for a mouse to crawl through, but to take a vacation."

Former Congressman Private John Allen of Mississippi visited the cloakrooms, told of a trip to Garner's district and "uncontrovertible proof that Garner was the best Congressman ever elected in Texas."

"I was down in southwest Texas," said Allen, "and I had a chance to investigate Garner. I visited a rancher and spent the night. After

supper my host and his wife and I sat for a while and talked crops, singing schools and politics.

“‘By the way,’ I asked, just as if I didn’t know, ‘who is your Congressman?’ ‘John Garner,’ said the rancher, before his wife could say it.

“I pondered for a minute, and then asked, ‘Well, who did you have before Garner?’

“The rancher looked at his wife, and she returned the stare. Both seemed to reflect a moment, and then said, almost in unison, ‘We never had any before him.’”

Garner Moves Up

THE financial panic of 1907 marked the emergence of Representative Garner from the narrow role of a local Representative into the part of a national legislator. He was to participate in some manner in nearly every one of a sequence of great events beginning then and crowding one another in the years to come. It was in a small way at first but he was gradually to pick up speed, weight and prominence in public affairs and in the public consciousness.

To some parts of the country the depression which followed the financial crash in the middle of Theodore Roosevelt's second term was minor, just one of a series of the "boom and bust" episodes of American history. But in the newer sections of the country, where there had usually been no boom, such crises were all "busts." This one hit Texas hard. Like all new areas it felt itself a victim of dislocated capital. Money for various reasons gravitated to Eastern banks. The Western people were doing business—or trying to—under difficult circumstances. There was inadequate venture capital. When a rancher sold his cattle or crops, the money headed East. When the rancher wanted to borrow so as to buy seed, stock or capital equipment, he had to seek funds—or his local bank did—from the big financial houses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Garner was acutely aware of the repercussions of financial panics and succeeding depressions. The one of 1837 had swept away the fortunes of the Garners and Walpoles in Tennessee. The one of 1873 had brought harder times to the South trying to get along under reconstruction and the one of 1893 had hit him just as he was struggling to get started at Uvalde.

Garner came back from Texas in the autumn of 1907 hopping mad

at what he believed was favoritism to New York in general and Wall Street gamblers in particular because of government aid extended mainly to that banking center in the panic.

In a hard-hitting statement the erstwhile friendly Texas Congressman called on Secretary of the Treasury Cortelyou for an explanation why "quick aid was extended to stock gamblers in New York while the rest of the country was left without a semblance of assistance."

Garner demanded to know the character of collateral upon which Secretary Cortelyou deposited government funds in the New York banks.

"In my opinion," said Garner, "the Secretary of the Treasury has been allowing these New York bankers to have money on securities which they could not sell in the market. Congress and the people have a right to know if this is true. Conditions in my state where banks are finding it difficult to get currency for their daily needs, though their vaults are filled with gilt-edged securities, are duplicated in other states.

"New York banks have all the money now. They borrowed between ten and fifteen million dollars from Texas banks not long ago at 6 per cent. Now when the Texas banks want money to aid in the moving of crops, the New York banks tell them that they can get it by paying 20, 30 or 50 per cent.

"It is hackneyed to cuss Wall Street, but no fair-minded man can help resenting conduct which is directly responsible for the stringency which is being experienced in other sections of the country."

Garner held long sessions with Representatives Carter Glass and Arsene Pujo on the setting up of some sort of system to prevent the concentration of money in New York City. Most of his conversations were with Glass.

From the time they came to Congress, Glass and Garner had been very friendly. Their names were next to one another on the House roll call and they were about that close on other things. Their seats were also close together. If Garner thought his first assignment on the Committee on Railways and Canals was bad, Glass did not even do that well. He was put on the Committee on Pacific Railways. Physically there was a resemblance. They weighed about the same and there was little difference in height. Glass had red hair, and Garner

reddish sandy hair. Neither had had very good school advantages and both were largely self-taught. They were constant companions in seats along the first-base line at Washington baseball games. Both had been baseball players when Abner Doubleday's national pastime was very young.

The baseball games which Garner and Glass saw were not very good. Washington apparently had been put in the newly formed American League so it would be assured of a permanent cellar tenant.

"It was as spavined a bunch of athletes as were ever held together by arnica and baling wire," Garner said. "We went out expecting them to get beat and they seldom disappointed us. It was before the days when the great pitcher Walter Johnson made them respectable. We felt right at home. Washington was last in the American League and Carter and I were on the bottom in the American Congress. Every time they got beat it reminded us of how we got roughhoused on the most recent roll call."

John Sharp Williams liked the bantam-sized newcomers from Virginia and Texas and set out to find better committee assignments for them. Of the available vacancies Glass preferred the Foreign Affairs and Garner wanted Banking and Currency. But in the juggling each got what the other wanted. Representative Henry D. Flood of Virginia, who had two years seniority over Glass, also wanted the Foreign Affairs Committee place, and two Virginians could not be put on the committee. Glass, a newspaperman, found himself plunged into the tricky waters of high finance. Garner, a cow-country banker and lawyer, was tossed into the study of international diplomacy.

Up to the panic of 1907, if the pages of the *Congressional Record* were the criterion, Garner and Glass were about the most inactive members of Congress. Neither had made a formal speech on the floor of the House of Representatives. Glass, despite his original distaste for his assignment, plunged into a study of banking and currency. By 1907 he had a fair knowledge of his subject but felt that he was without much influence in his party or in Congress.

Garner had remedial legislation of his own in mind but it was evident to both him and Glass that no Democrat was going to author successful currency legislation. From a party standpoint the Democrats were worse off than when they began their Congressional service.

In 1902, Roosevelt had not been popular and the Congressional election had been so close that a change of sixteen votes would have defeated Cannon and elected Williams as Speaker. However, by 1904, T. R. was a public idol and with his whopping victory over Alton B. Parker, the Republicans rose to a majority of 104 votes in the House. This was cut down to 58 in 1906, and this was the majority at the time of the financial crash.

Glass told Garner the Republicans would be forced to enact some sort of banking and currency legislation. But it would be the handiwork of Republican Chairman Edward B. Vreeland of his committee and of Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island.

Garner took the plaint of his farmer and ranchman constituents to Vreeland, John W. Weeks of Massachusetts, Henry McMorran of Michigan and other Republican wheelhorses, but got little encouragement.

When the House convened in December, Garner laid on the Speaker's desk the first major bill of his Congressional career. The Garner bill proposed a new form of legal tender to be called "United States Currency Notes" and provided for their printing in the amount of \$500,000,000.

He claimed that his bill would give the currency supply of the country an automatic elasticity and at the same time, he said, remedy the much criticized provisions of the law which gave national banks a great advantage over other financial institutions and individuals.

"The proposal," said Garner, "would amend the law so as to enable an individual, or association of individuals, to deposit with the Secretary of the Treasury United States bonds and receive therefor a special currency to be designated 'United States Currency Notes,' just as national banks are permitted to deposit such securities and issue bank notes for them."

On currency backed by government bonds, Garner proposed an annual tax of 5 per cent and on currency backed by state, county or municipal bonds he proposed an interest rate of 7 per cent. The heavy tax was for the purpose of driving the currency out of circulation when the stringency passed.

The Republican oligarchy, after some perfunctory examination, put the Garner bill away in its most remote pigeonhole. Garner offered

amendments from the floor, during the House consideration of the Vreeland bill, but Chairman Vreeland and his steam roller flattened them. The Aldrich-Vreeland bill, passed in May 1908, in the opinion of both Garner and Glass kept money control in the East where it had always been. They would, as it turned out, have to wait eight more years for the sort of financial setup they wanted.

Garner's vehement attacks on Secretary Cortelyou may have somewhat chilled the amicable relations which existed between the Uvaldian and the White House. However, he still had easier access to Roosevelt than any other member of the Texas Congressional delegation.

In January he went to the White House on some sort of business. Roosevelt's anti-race suicide campaign was at its height. In order to break the ice Garner took along with him a photograph of the family of W. T. Bright, an Atascosa County constituent. There were fourteen children in the group.

"You can see there is no race suicide in Texas," Garner told the President. "I have brought you the picture of a constituent of mine who is making good along the line you suggest."

Roosevelt beamed.

"Fine, fine," responded the President. "What we need is more families like Mr. Bright's. We need more of them, Mr. Garner. Mr. Bright is raising the right sort, too, I dare say."

"Yes," replied Garner, "I quite agree with you. It would be a great help to the country if we had more families like that. I forgot to tell you, Mr. Bright is raising them all to be good Democrats."

"Bully, anyhow," said Roosevelt. "Texas is great from any standpoint—but it has too many Democrats."

Before many months Roosevelt was behind a drive to unseat Garner. It had been his desire to be the first Republican President to increase his party's Congressional foothold in the former Confederate states.

Cecil Lyons, Republican national committeeman from Texas, convinced Roosevelt that the G.O.P. had a good chance to replace Garner. In 1908, for the fourth straight time, there was a heavily financed Republican effort in Garner's district.

Garner's six hundred miles of Texas-Mexico border had customs offices, river guards and other ingredients of a federal machine.

When newspapermen asked Roosevelt about plans to defeat Garner, the President said:

"Well, Cecil thinks it can be done."

Garner's opponent was Dr. T. W. Moore of Seguin, who had opposed him two years before.

Texas newspapers did not agree with the President and the Republican national commiteeman on the prospect of sending Garner back to private life. Said the Floresville *Chronicle*:

"It is said that Dr. Moore of Seguin will tackle John Garner again this year. If the good doctor has any practice he had better stay home and look after it, as our John will give him a worse drubbing this year than two years ago."

Garner took no chances. He pitched his campaign on tariff, banking and currency reform, and anti-imperialism.

He outlined his views in a letter to H. G. Wood of Seguin on March 3, 1908, in which he said:

"In my judgment the revision of the tariff is, and should be, the leading issue of the coming campaign. The present protective tariff has been the foundation of the great monopolies that have grown up in this country.

"The closer you keep your government to the people the better laws you will have. We need but few additional laws. What is needed is better administration of the laws we have now. I am unalterably opposed to further encroachments by the federal government upon the legislative field wherein the state can give all necessary relief.

"You will remember that in the campaigns of 1902-04-06, I contended that it was not only unconstitutional and un-American, but disastrous from a business standpoint, to continue our colonial policy by retaining the Philippines. I still hold to these views. You will note that the Philippines have already cost us more than \$600,000,000 and the lives of many soldiers without a dollar in return or prospects of a change for the better.

"No law-created person should have an advantage over any God-created person, therefore I am opposed to bank-issued currency.

"I do not believe in war except in behalf of liberty, or in defense of a nation's honor, and would divert, if I could, some of the millions now being used in great preparations for war to the better and more peace-

able purpose of improving our waterways and other internal developments that are being neglected upon the pretense that we have no money.

"The money needlessly spent in maintaining our colonial policy in the Philippines would have deepened every harbor and improved every river in the United States.

"I repeat that it is not so many laws we need, but an honest effort by honest officials to enforce them—make fewer promises but keep every promise made."

In a joint debate with Dr. Moore at Sutherland Springs, Wilson County, on September 5, Garner advocated the enactment of the elastic currency bill he had introduced a few months previously, an income tax, declared against postal savings banks, and for the first time came out for the federal guarantee of bank deposits.

Moore hotly attacked the latter proposal.

"It is unfair to good banks," he said. "It will cause every man with an itching palm and small conscience to plunge into the national banking business. It will wreck our whole banking fabric."

Garner replied that postal savings banks would put the government in the banking business and a carefully managed deposit insurance fund on a national basis would pay its own way, end runs on banks and still leave banking in private hands.

Garner was not a delegate to the Democratic national convention at Denver, which nominated Bryan. However, he supported the Com-moner in the election, though he originally had opposed the Bryan nomination.

He favored Senator Charles A. Culberson of Texas, then the Senate Democratic leader, for President and thought an ideal running mate for Culberson would be John Mitchell, head of the United Mine Workers.

In a statement in which he called Culberson, "a conservative who is not reactionary and a progressive who is not radical," Garner asserted "that forty years after the Civil War, the South which is the backbone, thighs and sinews of the Democratic party should demand its rights in the party."

In an interview in the San Antonio *Express*, he said:

"It is argued that a Southern man is not available for the Presidential

nomination. Who makes these standards of availability? It seems to me that the failure of the South to insist on recognition commensurate with the unfailing support it gives the national party is largely responsible. I have heard Senator Culberson's availability discussed so often and so seriously by influential Democrats that I no longer hold the belief I once held that the nomination of a Southern man for President is fantastic.

"There is more distrust of the idea of a Southern man for President in the South than there is in other sections of the country. Unless the South does stand up for its rights, its influence in the party councils will become less and less until it reaches nil."

Generally, Garner was of the same views as Bryan, but he was opposed to Bryan's proposal for government ownership of railroads and to the sound money side of the monetary question.

"Most of the things that made Theodore Roosevelt popular were in the Bryan platforms," he said.

Garner was re-elected to his fourth term on the day Bryan went down before Taft for his third straight defeat.

In a way, Garner regretted seeing T. R. go from the White House. They had got along excellently for men of opposite political faiths and, although the same kind of a White House welcome would extend over into the Taft administration, Garner would miss the unpredictable, hard-hitting Rough Rider. He said of T. R.:

"He was dramatic, spectacular, explosive, hasty and impulsive. Perhaps he was the most theatrical of all our Presidents. The Republican leaders in Congress never knew what he was going to do next. But he was a dexterous politician and had a great hold on the public imagination. My personal relations with him were pleasant."

Roosevelt went out on March 4, and Taft came in on the worst inauguration day in history. Three inches of rain fell on the previous day. On inauguration day there was a heavy fall of wind-driven, soggy snow. The Presidential oath was administered inside of the Senate Chamber for the first time since the blizzardy day of Andrew Jackson's second administration.

The inside ceremonies stirred to disappointed wrath thousands of men and women who had dared the howling snow storm and gathered around the outdoor stand at the east door of the Capitol. On that day

Champ Clark of Missouri, successor to John Sharp Williams as minority leader, called Garner to his office and told him he wanted to school him for a place of command in the House leadership. His first recognition was as assistant Whip.

Garner by now had become recognized as one of the best-informed men in the House, had a reputation for level-headedness and resourcefulness. His Congressional district was making less demands on him and he began to tread the long path to party leadership in Congress. There had been many changes in the Democratic House membership in the six years Garner had been a member. Some of the older men had dropped out and others had gone to the Senate.

There was a new crop of promising young Democrats, among them James M. Cox of Ohio, afterward to be a Democratic Presidential nominee; Cordell Hull, Finis J. Garrett and Joseph W. Byrns of Tennessee; James W. Collier of Mississippi; Richmond P. Hobson of Alabama and A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania. The Republicans had matched them with such recruits as Frank O. Lowden and Martin Madden of Illinois; John W. Weeks of Massachusetts; J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania and Julius Kahn of California.

It was to be a memorable session with tariff revision and an attack on Speaker Cannon and the House rules headlining it. The Republicans had a working majority of forty-seven, but there was insurgency in the ranks. Clark, a bold and audacious leader, intended to harass the Republicans from the opening gong. Roosevelt had been able to sidestep tariff revision. Taft was face to face with it. Clark's theory, he told Garner, was that any tariff bill the Republicans enacted would be unpopular with the country and might lead the way to the first Democratic national victory in sixteen years if properly exploited.

Clark carried the battle to Cannon, his personal friend, on the opening day, March 15, 1909, of the special session of Congress. "Cannonism," in fact, became a blazing issue between House Republicans and Democrats. Clark demanded a revision of the rules under which Uncle Joe allegedly practiced parliamentary tyranny. It was all wrong, said Clark, "for a Speaker to make himself bigger than the whole 390 of us who are left."

Garner for the first time came into debate as a top-ranking House member, backing Clark's arguments.

Later in the month he was in a good-natured, humorous exchange with Sereno E. Payne, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and majority leader. Payne told the pestiferous Texan:

"Someday somebody is going to find out whereabouts in the sand and chaparral that district of yours is and is going down there and beat hell out of you."

Garner, remembering that Theodore Roosevelt had fondly hoped to see a Republican elected in his district a few months before, replied:

"I concede that my district is overweight geographically and underweight from a population standpoint. It has more animals than people, but the people who are there are mighty good people. It is one-eighth of the area of Texas and not difficult to find. In fact, I think a great leader of the Republican party found where it was last fall."

Said the *Gulf Coast Record*:

"Though he does not weigh over a hundred pounds, John Garner is as speedy as a *paisano* and as game and plucky as a *javelina* and we would not trade him off for all of Sereno Payne's 300 pounds of bowels."

Garner's duty as Whip was to know where the votes were for any party measure. His first efforts in his new post were to line up votes for the submission of the income-tax amendment to the Constitution. So well did he do that when the vote was taken on July 12 not a Democrat voted against submission of the amendment.

In the long-drawn-out fight on the tariff the Democrats were able to do little other than harass the Republicans and hope to make an issue for the Presidential election. The party steam roller pushed the G.O.P. bill to enactment. Democratic efforts to make campaign fodder were aided by President Taft, who went to Winona, Minnesota, and in a speech, called the unpopular Payne-Aldrich tariff bill "the best one ever passed in the history of the nation."

The Democrats, aided and abetted by the Norris-Cooper-Murdock insurgents, now renewed the attacks on the House rules and Cannonism. The showdown fight came in what was known as the St. Patrick's Day Revolt of 1910—a ninety-six-hour battle in which some of the controls were finally wrenched from Cannon's grasp. Garner's part in that caused no enmity between him and Uncle Joe however. A few days after the big fight, Garner heard that the Board of Army Engi-

neers had rejected a pet project of his. For seven years Garner had been trying to get a deep-water port at Corpus Christi. Its rejection by the Army brass seemed to spell defeat. But Garner refused to accept it as such.

He grabbed his hat and went down to the office of Brigadier General William L. Marshall, chief of engineers. A Rivers and Harbors bill was about to be reported by the House committee.

It was an unseasonably hot March day and Marshall, almost as big as President Taft, was in his shirt sleeves and sweating. He listened to Garner's argument.

Finally he got up from his chair and stood towering over him.

"Congressman," he said, "your arguments have been cogent and convincing. I think you know more about it than the engineers. I will be sixty-four years old in June, and I am going out of the Army. Some of those young whippersnappers on the board haven't been paying much attention to me. The tradition is that a chief of engineers never overrules a board. But, I hereby overrule this one."

Garner couldn't wait for military channels. He stayed until Marshall wrote out his ruling. He took it to Secretary of War Dickinson and got his approval. He went back to the subcommittee of the Rivers and Harbors Committee and asked it to insert the item in the bill. Then he went before the full committee. Here he ran up against an inviolable rule. The committee could act only on printed amendments. Garner went to the public printer. There was, he found, another rule. Nobody but the Speaker could order such printing.

Garner, without telephoning, got in a cab and went to Cannon's home on Vermont Avenue. Some cronies were there and Uncle Joe insisted that Garner play poker. He sat in the game for two hours while the cab waited and then told Cannon his dilemma. The Speaker scribbled a notation to the printer and Garner went back to the Government Printing Office at midnight.

The next day the bill was reported to the House and passed with the Corpus Christi item. His isolated district was on the way to a deep-water outlet to the world. Garner had originally introduced the bill on November 23, 1903, his thirty-fifth birthday. Twenty-four days later at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, Orville and Wilbur Wright made the first successful flight in an airplane.

In World War II at the deep-water port of Corpus Christi was

located the greatest naval air training station in the world, where 31,000 naval fliers were trained.

Garner had rejected a proposal to fortify Aransas Pass as an alternative to deep water.

"At this stage," he said, "improvements of waterways and water transportation are of more importance than guns which will soon be as obsolete as the Confederate cannons on court-house squares."

Garner had only negligible opposition from the Republicans in 1910. His only important new platform plank was a more specific pledge of efforts for economy in government.

Sessions of Congress were much shorter in those days than now. On alternate years Garner had from March to December in Texas. He continued to buy and sell land and engage in various other enterprises. He at no time dabbled in oil or other quick-money plans. If land which he purchased was not revenue producing for him he sold it to someone who could make it produce.

"I imagine I signed more deeds than any man in Uvalde," he said. In Washington the Garners lived quietly.

Mrs. Garner went to the neighborly teas which Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, and afterward Mrs. William Howard Taft gave from time to time for small groups of women at the White House.

Longworth tried to interest Garner in golf without avail. The Texan even turned down the walking parties which Longworth liked. Longworth's marching companions became known eventually as the "Statesman's Sunday Morning Marching Club." It took two-hour brisk walks through Rock Creek Park.

"I stop at the entrance of Rock Creek Park," Garner said.

The stopping place was the zoo. Garner went there almost every Sunday. He had always been a great animal lover.

His strenuous outdoor exercise he postponed until he got to Texas. Then he would spend weeks in the woods and on fishing streams.

The slashing Democratic Congressional fight on the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, Cannonism and other issues paid off in 1910 in a turnover of 113 seats. Two hundred and twenty-eight Democrats and 162 Republicans were elected. A Republican House majority of 47 was transformed into a Democratic lead of 66. In the Senate the Republican majority was halved.

Speaker Cannon did not stand for the empty honor of being Repub-

lican candidate for Speaker. James R. Mann was put forward by the Republican caucus and was defeated by Clark, 220 to 131. The Democrats controlled one branch of Congress for the first time in sixteen years.

Suave Oscar W. Underwood moved in as majority leader and methodically went about the business of further dividing the Republicans. The Democratic board of strategy resolved never to let up on the tariff issue. It had been good enough to win the House and it looked good enough for a winner-take-all—House, Senate and Presidency—in 1912.

Garner, who had earned the friendship of Champ Clark in the fight to democratize the House rules, by now was majority Whip and a top lieutenant of the Speaker. He moved cautiously and tread on no Democratic toes. There were still fifty Democrats in the House who had been there longer than he had. In his own Texas delegation, Burleson, Slayden, Henry, Stephens and Burgess, all able and influential men, had longer service. Some of them held important chairmanships.

Garner took up more space in the *Congressional Record* during the Sixty-Second Congress than in the four preceding. His political stature increased perhaps more because of his opposition to pork-barrel measures than for any other reason. This fight to take the pork out of all bills he began on the day Congress opened. He objected to lump-sum appropriation and insisted on itemization of expenditures.

He lashed out at boards and commissions, taking a particularly hot shot at the International Joint Commission as "a sinecure and sanctuary for lame ducks."

He supported a proposal to abolish five regiments of cavalry on the grounds that the cavalry which he a few years before had vigorously supported was becoming outmoded as an effective Army wing. To protests against this from his district, he replied that on such a matter a lawmaker ought to use his judgment about what was best, and stand or fall by his decision in the subsequent election.

Garner took a prominent part in the revision of the House rules under Clark, voted for statehood for Arizona and New Mexico, completing the continental Union of forty-eight states, voted for the proposal of a Secretary of Labor in the President's Cabinet, for free tolls

for American vessels in the Panama Canal, supported a bill for the making public of campaign funds and for the impeachment of Judge Robert W. Archbald of the Commerce Court for malfeasance in office.

Garner was constantly on the floor during the discussion of the so-called pop-gun tariff bills which the Democrats sent to the White House only to draw vetoes from President Taft. The issue was thus kept constantly before the country.

Garner supported the appropriation of \$60,000 for an investigation of the money trust by the Pujo Committee and asserted "no \$60,000 could be better spent than in investigating the money trust."

He was by now second ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was a conferee on the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill, presided over the House as a stand-in for Clark during the consideration of much of the Democratic tariff legislation.

As the 1912 primaries in Texas approached, Garner had strong support as successor to Senator Joseph Weldon Bailey, who was retiring. Instead he announced for re-election to the House.

Clark and Underwood both became candidates for President along with Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey; Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio; Governor Thomas R. Marshall and others. Garner supported Clark. Texas went for Wilson and the Texas delegation became a bulwark of strength for him at the Baltimore Democratic national convention.

Garner made his last courtesy call on President Taft. The good-natured President said to him:

"John, you have never asked a favor of me, since I have been President. I would like to do something for you."

Garner remembered a newspaper editorial when he first ran for Congress which asserted that he would have so little influence that he would never know who was going to be appointed postmaster in his home town.

"All right, Mr. President," Garner replied. "Appoint a postmaster for me at Uvalde."

Taft asked for his recommendation. Garner wrote on a slip of paper: "John W. White."

President Taft sent the nomination to the Senate. It was the first Democratic postmaster appointment made in Texas in sixteen years.

White was left undisturbed during changing administrations, serving under Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and Roosevelt until he retired because of age after thirty years of service.

Of Taft, Garner was to say thirty years later:

“William Howard Taft was the perfect constitutional President of all my time in Washington. But he was not rated a successful President. I don't know whether that proves anything or not. There were other factors. He came along when his party was jaded from successive victories and torn by dissension. Some men of high character and lofty attainments have been failures as President. Some men of mediocre abilities have been rated successful Presidents. He, of course, made a serious blunder in his praise of the Payne-Aldrich bill. Taft never tried to control another branch of government by patronage or otherwise. He never overstepped his functions. It is easy for a President to usurp powers. Franklin D. Roosevelt found that out.”

Wilson and the War Years

WOODROW WILSON stood before a huge throng on Capitol Plaza and at one-ten, on the blustery afternoon of March 4, 1913, took the oath of President of the United States. A Democrat occupied the White House for the first time since Cleveland went out and McKinley came in sixteen years before on March 4, 1897.

In an amazingly short address Wilson particularized the purposes of his administration. He eased any fears that he intended to tear the country apart economically with his declaration:

"We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write on; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they cannot tell. Justice and only justice shall be our motto."

And he ended with that never-to-be-forgotten peroration:

"This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

Inauguration day climaxed a week of high excitement such as Washington, then a city of 325,000 population, had seldom witnessed.

President Madero of Mexico had been assassinated a fortnight before and war with Mexico seemed imminent. The battleships *Vermont*, *Nebraska* and *Georgia* were off Vera Cruz. Pujo and the Democratic members of his committee had completed the "Pujo Investigation" and found that a "money trust" existed. To break it up Representative Carter Glass, who was succeeding Pujo as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, announced that legislation would be introduced providing a Federal Reserve System.

"General" Rosalie Jones and her suffrage hikers "the Army of the Hudson" had reached the Capital. "General" Jones, her Pilgrim's cloak draped about her and staff in hand was greeted by Inez Milholland, wearing a white broadcloth Cossack's suit and long white kid boots. A pale blue cloak hung from Miss Milholland's shoulders, on the cloak a Maltese cloth demanding a "constitutional amendment to enfranchise the women of the United States."

The suffrage parade of March 3 had not been given sufficient police protection and the marchers were subjected to disgraceful indignities. Governor Wilson had arrived during the excitement. The reception committee which greeted him, including Admiral George Dewey and General Nelson A. Miles, drove him to the old Shoreham Hotel by a little frequented route.

It had been a week end of unusual farewells by retiring Republican officials. In his last Sunday as the nation's chief executive, President Taft had occupied the pulpit of the Unitarian Church.

At the National Press Club, Mr. Taft had told newspapermen good-by in a delightful talk in which he said he would "not mope over the fact that he had been returned to private life by the votes of the people." He said: "My greatest sin is procrastination and I like to linger in the society of my fellow-man."

The retiring President exemplified the plight of a President going out of office, especially one who had been almost continuously in public office since his appointment as a state Judge in Ohio, in 1887. He was proud of the Supreme Court, of which he had appointed six of the nine members. He couldn't practice law, the only thing he knew, because he had appointed 45 per cent of the federal judiciary: "That wouldn't affect matters," he said, "but you know what would happen if I won a case, what the man who lost it would say." But he did have

something to do when his \$50,000-a-year job ended and he was glad of it. He was taking a lectureship at Yale at \$5,000 per year, and he reported that Charles E. Hillis, who had been his secretary at \$5,000 per year, had got a \$20,000 job in New York.

"I leave office without bitterness toward anyone," Mr. Taft said. "It is not worth while harboring resentments."

To Washington the biggest sensation of all was that Wilson, who was to be second of the three-in-a-row golfing Presidents, had refused to accept honorary membership in the fashionable Chevy Chase Club.

Taft and Wilson rode to the Capitol along a line of inaugural seats for which Democrats had paid as high as twenty dollars each, through crowds of women carrying yellow banners inscribed VOTES FOR WOMEN, and men wearing hatbands saying WOODY'S A JOLLY GOOD FELLOW. High-hatted and frock-coated men were everywhere.

On the stand where Wilson was to take the oath from Chief Justice White was old Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia, Parker's Vice-Presidential running mate in 1904, and now ninety years old; Ambassadors Bryce of England and Jusserand of France; Senator Knute Nelson, a bearded Viking from Minnesota and Senator John W. Kern of Indiana, Bryan's 1908 Vice-Presidential ticket companion, wearing a white vest and a white satin four-in-hand tie.

Congress, snarled in a filibuster, had remained in session all day Sunday and Monday, and was still knotted at noon inauguration day when President Taft and Governor Wilson arrived at the Capitol for the inaugural ceremonies.

Two Taft vetoes were responsible in part for the Congressional tie-up. He had refused his signature to the Webb-Kenyon bill, prohibiting the shipment of liquor into dry territory. He also tossed back to Congress a bill exempting labor unions and farmers' alliances from prosecution under the Sherman anti-trust law and sent with it a message saying: "This provision is class legislation of the most vicious sort."

Major General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff of the Army, saw to it that no such turbulent scenes as took place on the March 3 suffrage parade would occur as the nation changed Presidents. Wood in Army cape and on a skittish horse kept everything in order. Wilson rode

from the Shoreham Hotel to the White House between a double row of students from the University of Virginia.

As Wilson finished his inaugural address, jubilant Democrats swarmed onto Pennsylvania Avenue, and with governors and their uniformed staffs, Union and Confederate veterans on foot, military organizations and marching clubs, made up the longest, most colorful inaugural parade that had ever before or has since gone up that historic parade route. For nine hours they marched, in daylight past the historic eyesores of lower Pennsylvania Avenue, and then the last of them came along under festoons of special red, white and blue lights.

President Wilson had as his escort the Essex Cavalry Troop. The Essex uniform was a dark blue coat with yellow trimmings; light blue trousers with a two-inch stripe down the side. Each of the young men in the troop owned his own horse, a thoroughbred.

The Vice-President had as his escort the Black Horse Cavalry from Culver, Indiana, each of the sixty troopers on a coal-black horse with tan saddle and gray blanket, bearing the Culver monogram in yellow leather. The Culver uniforms were pearl gray with broad white cross belts and rope trimmings.

Then came the cadets from West Point and the midshipmen from Annapolis, the cadets in gray uniforms, cross belts and tall caps, the midshipmen in black raincoats and caps, white belts and white leggings.

The dressy Richmond Blues came in dark blue coats and white embroidered trimmings, shakos, silver epaulets and broad ermine-fringed blue capes. There was a Zouave Company from Georgia.

Seven special trains had brought Charles F. Murphy and 1,200 Tammany Braves from New York. The Grand Sachem, the thirteen Tammany Sachems and McCooey, with his Brooklyn contingent, waited to get into the parade. Tammany had taken verbal punishment at Baltimore in the preceding Democratic national convention and it was to take physical punishment here. From one o'clock until five o'clock in the afternoon it had stood in close rank near a lumberyard at North Capitol and B Street.

Murphy had gone up and down the line cheering his Braves. The great Tom Foley and his lower East Side Braves were uncomfortable

in their shiny headgear. Assemblyman Al Smith had laid aside his brown derby for a topper.

The buffalo nickel was just being minted. The Tammany contingent had pocketfuls of them and tossed them to urchins who admired their sartorial elegance.

"The," cracked the florid Murphy, to The McManus, "tell the boys to put their wallets in their inside pockets. Some of them look as if their hips were dislocated."

And as dusk was gathering Murphy's men led by Chief Hollow Horn Bear and seventy other real Indian chiefs in feathered regalia and war paint came into line at the head of the civic organizations. It was dark when the 1,200 Braves, every one of them with a silk hat and gray gloves, swung around the Treasury Building and marched by the new President, their hats off and placed dramatically over their hearts.

Next day most of the marchers seemed to have remained in Washington—looking for jobs.

The Republican split had caused one of the largest Congressional membership turnovers in history. An audit showed 290 Democrats, 127 Republicans and 18 members of minor parties in the House. The Senate stood 51 Democrats, 44 Republicans and one member of a minor party.

Republicans from hitherto impregnable G.O.P. territory had been replaced by Democrats. There had also been much shifting among the Democrats. Sulzer had gone out to be Governor of New York; James M. Cox to be Governor of Ohio. Ollie James, who had come to Congress with Garner, was sworn in as Senator from Kentucky, but did not take his seat. The chair at his desk was too small and he went to a settee in the back of the Senate Chamber.

Wilson's Cabinet selections flattered the vanity of the House. Three of them came from the House, none from the Senate. William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania was to occupy the newly created post of Secretary of Labor, which Garner had advocated in his first campaign ten years before. Magenta-bearded William C. Redfield of New York became Secretary of Commerce and Albert Sidney Burleson of Texas took his never missing umbrella and his penchant for getting into trouble and moved up Pennsylvania Avenue, to be Postmaster General.

Garner's two closest friends on the Republican side were leaving. Uncle Joe Cannon, whose clean-shaven upper lip, stubby white beard, always present cigar and husky voice were Capitol fixtures, had been engulfed by the Democratic tide and at seventy-seven was going home to Danville, Illinois. Defeat also had overtaken Nick Longworth in Ohio.

"Nick," said Garner, "had father-in-law trouble."

Theodore Roosevelt had enough popularity in Cincinnati so that he cut into native son William Howard Taft, and gave Longworth's district to Wilson and to the Democratic Congressional candidate.

Wilson's young men took over the executive offices the next day. Garner called my attention to the youth of the Administration and said he doubted if there had ever been one so balanced in age. Bryan, his Secretary of State, was only fifty-two; Redfield, the oldest Cabinet member was fifty-four; Houston, the youngest, was forty-seven; McReynolds and Daniels were just fifty. And because William B. Wilson, McAdoo, Garrison, Burleson and Lane were all forty-nine, it got its reputation as a "Cabinet of 49ers." President Wilson was fifty-seven. The oldest man connected with the Administration was Vice-President Marshall, who was fifty-nine.

Garner was forty-four now. Instead of the 123 pounds he weighed when he came to Congress ten years before, he now weighed 180, was hard muscled and in perfect health. And, he was, he told me, looking for a job.

The job he wanted was a place on the Ways and Means Committee. The Ways and Means Committee is the fiscal committee of the House and writes tariff and tax bills. Prior to the depression which began in 1929, tariff and taxes were the principal points of the division between the two parties and men familiar with these two subjects became the House leaders.

Ways and Means Committee members also choose, subject to House ratification, members of the other standing committees. Garner wanted a part in the writing of the forthcoming Underwood Tariff bill and the first income-tax measure, but I am sure he wanted a beachhead to work toward the Speakership some time in the future. Champ Clark was, of course, certain to remain Speaker as long as he wished and as long as the Democrats stayed in power. Majority Leader Underwood

ranked next highest to Clark in power. The other two of the four most influential were Claude Kitchin, a handsome six-foot 225-pound North Carolinian, and Garner.

House leaders had other plans than placing Garner on its fiscal committee, however. There were men who for one reason or another they wished to reward with places on this committee. Garner was offered instead the chairmanship of the Foreign Affairs Committee. To most members of Congress it would have been an enticing offer. Garner would have been the youngest major committee chairman in Congress, with the most elaborate committee quarters. And—if he had been interested in social life—it is the social committee of Congress. He had been on the committee for eight years, attended its sessions faithfully and had risen to the ranking Democratic place on it. But he thought of its chairmanship in terms of cocktails and canapés, both of which he regarded as works of the devil.

Garner rejected the offer. He told the House slatemakers:

"I don't want the chairmanship of the Foreign Affairs Committee. I want to go on a committee which deals with domestic affairs, affecting the American people."

He had to fight not only the House leadership for the place, but also a newspaper campaign against him, conducted by the *Washington Times*. The newspaper was owned by Frank A. Munsey and had been an organ of the Bull Moose party in the 1912 campaign. Munsey said Garner owned more goats than any man in the world and, therefore, would have a personal interest in the legislation and "is anxious to confer some incidental protection to the sugar, cattle, hide and other interests of his state." Actually, Garner owned no goats. Privately, he said: "Munsey is for the lowest possible duty on raw materials and for the highest possible duty on manufactured goods and that is the reason for his opposition to me." Publicly, he made no statement. The friends he had made in Congress over the years stood him in good stead. Out of the 266 votes in the Democratic caucus he polled 209 and went on the Ways and Means Committee. But the charges Munsey had made against him were destined later to add to the goat literature of the nation.

Garner favored every one of the legislative proposals outlined by Wilson in his inaugural address. The "new freedom" program suited

Garner in its entirety. The things Wilson said about tariff revision Garner had said in his own campaigns. In arguing for the banking and currency reform, which was to lead to the Federal Reserve System, Wilson had used almost word for word the argument used by Garner in urging a currency measure of his own six years before. Garner had also offered and had rejected an amendment to the Aldrich-Vreeland bill embracing the farm-credit proposals made by Wilson in his inaugural address and he agreed with the Wilson anti-trust and labor pronouncements. In spite of these things it soon began to look to Garner as if, with his own party in full power for the first time in his Congressional service, he was destined to have less influence with the executive branch of government than when Roosevelt and Taft were in the White House. He had no part in the honeymoon of the early Wilson days.

Garner had more than the usual patronage trouble. He was devoted to and favored the nomination of Speaker Clark for President, but had enthusiastically lined up for Wilson after the party decision. But some of the Texans who had stood by Wilson on all the forty-six ballots at the Baltimore Democratic national convention, insisted that Garner be denied patronage in his district. They apparently had the ear of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo and also Secretary of State Bryan.

"I've got at least three applications for every post office or other job in my district and each applicant has at least forty friends," Garner told me. "They are making life miserable for me. I don't know whether my recommendations are going to be followed or not."

The situation became intolerable to him. Garner was the House Whip charged with bringing in the votes for Administration legislation. He presided over the House most of the time when it was in Committee of the Whole considering legislation. He was helping to frame legislation carrying out the party platform on tariff and tax matters. He was bearing a heavy part of the Administration burden in the House, but was being ignored by the Administration.

Garner went to the White House and bluntly demanded a show-down on patronage. If he was going to dispense jobs in his district he wanted to know it and if he was not going to, he wanted to know it. He got no such good-natured receptions as he customarily got when

he had called to discuss matters with Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Taft.

"I got the worst dressing down from Wilson I ever got from anyone," Garner said. He had an even stormier session with McAdoo, but with the Cabinet member he gave as good as he got.

Garner left his warm session with Wilson uncertain of whether his relations with the White House had been permanently impaired.

A few days later he went to a hospital for a minor operation. When Wilson heard of it he sent a vase of flowers and a note wishing him a speedy recovery.

It soon became evident that Garner intended to watch expenditures just as closely as he had when his party was in the minority.

On April 21, 1913, Garner told the House that he had insisted on economy during Republican administrations and intended to do so under a Democratic one.

A deficiency appropriation bill was under consideration and contained an item of expenses for a trip by Senators and Representatives to St. Louis to dedicate the Jefferson Memorial.

Garner inquired of Representative J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama:

"How does the gentleman account for the fact that it takes \$350 for each individual to go to St. Louis, stay one day and return?"

Heflin replied by paying a stirring tribute to Thomas Jefferson as the father of American democracy. He said he had not had a chance to check the reasons for the expenditure but that he was sure the House would have every confidence in the members who had made the check. Garner rejoined:

"I have no confidence in anybody who figures it will cost \$350 for a man to go to St. Louis for a day."

He soon pitched into battle with powerful colleagues of the Ways and Means Committee on another issue. Garner insisted on graduated income-tax rates such as he had proposed in a bill which he introduced in 1905. Chairman Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, Francis Burton Harrison of New York and other members of the committee insisted on a flat rate to apply for all. Garner's capacity-to-pay plan won and the scale of rates ran from 1 to 6 per cent. The income-tax bill, which bore Garner's handiwork in

1913, yielded only \$71,382,000 the first year. There were only 357,588 individual and 316,908 corporation returns.

In the first six months of the Wilson administration, Garner made what was for him a record in legislation in which his personal sponsorship was concerned. He submitted, in a bill and an amendment, what might be called a Garner program for progressive farm legislation.

The bill provided for a bureau of marketing in the Department of Agriculture. Its purpose was to furnish information to farmers on markets for fruits and vegetables. Garner said that this was as much a function of the government as the furnishing of weather reports, but the proposal met a barrage of newspaper criticism.

The comment of the New York *Sun* was typical:

"Under triumphant bureaucracy," the *Sun* said in an editorial, "there can't be too many bureaus. No doubt a market bureau is inevitable. Indeed, some of us foresee the day when the food of every man, woman and child out of arms in these United States will be prescribed, weighed, measured, analyzed, cooked and fed into the individual mouth by the placemen of the paternal government. Of course, the bill has penalties.

"Oh, well, as government of the bureau, for the bureau and by the bureau moves grandly on, about everyone who isn't in office will be in jail."

That bill was Garner's one contribution toward setting up a bureau. The Bureau of Markets was established.

His other legislative offering of the session was an amendment to the Glass Federal Reserve bill providing loans to farmers in which wheat, corn and cotton would be accepted as collateral. Garner had offered such an amendment when the Aldrich-Vreeland bill was being considered and it got short shrift.

In offering the proposal again Garner said the purpose was "to provide a rural credit system enabling a farmer to market his crop under conditions not now possible." He pointed out that the cotton farmer could borrow money on his cotton warehouse receipts, would be able to meet his pressing obligations soon after his cotton was out of the gin, thus being in a position where he could obtain the highest market price for his staple, instead of being forced to dump it on a glutted market every autumn when prices were down.

Obstacles thrown in the way of enactment of the banking and currency legislation (the Federal Reserve Act) irked Garner.

He issued a statement saying:

"Ninety per cent of the people of this country demand the passage of legislation reforming the currency system. If we are unable to legislate in answer to the people's demands we must confess our inability to run the government. There are four kinds of people opposing the currency bill, to wit: (1) Those who don't want the law to pass because under the present laws they have opportunity to disturb conditions and cause panics; (2) Those persons opposed to the findings of the bill and the legislation proposed; (3) Those men who are opposed to the Administration and naturally fight anything the Democrats propose; (4) The men who are opposing the bill because of the personal advertising such opposition gives them."

When the bill was brought in by Carter Glass for floor consideration, Garner occupied the chair. When he had gavelled the bill through in its final form, Garner went down to the floor and warmly clasped the hand of Glass. A dream both of them had had since the financial panic of 1907 had come true.

The Democratic House moved on to the consideration of the Underwood Tariff bill, Republicans stubbornly fighting it paragraph by paragraph. The feature that attracted most attention in it was the wool schedule just as it had been Schedule K (the wool schedule) on which the spotlight was turned in the Payne-Aldrich tariff.

In all tariff legislation previous to the Underwood bill, goat hair had been classed with wool. But in the Democratic measure wool was placed on the free list, while hair of the goat was retained on the dutiable list at 10 per cent ad valorem. The ample-girthed Sereno E. Payne arose in the House for one of the forensic efforts of his life. He told the House "this bill taxes mohair while exposing shorn sheep to the boreal blasts of free trade" because Garner had got in his handiwork.

"There are about 3,000,000 goats in the United States of which about 2,999,999 are in Texas," said Payne, by way of emphasis, although actually there were Angoras in every state in the Union.

The Garner goat had been reviled in prose. It was to be immortalized in epic doggerel. Before a packed House, the erudite Representative

J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania arose and recited with poetic fervor, the bombastic verse of his composition:

*Of all the creatures in the land,
Of pedigrees supremely grand,
There's none that do respect command
Like Garner's goat of Texas.*

*The modest sheep may browse around
From Maine way to Puget Sound
But they don't count a cent a pound
With Garner's goat of Texas.*

*The noble steer may be of use
If freed from tyrant trust abuse;
But even that would be the deuce
To Garner's goat of Texas.*

*If you want wool, the wool is fair;
If you want hair, the wool is hair;
If you want meat, the meat is there!
That's Garner's goat of Texas.*

*So while you kick the wool off sheep,
And beef and mutton make so cheap,
Protective tariff now will keep
The Garner goat of Texas.*

*Browse on, thou mild-eyed ruminant
Thou are the casual nexus
That binds protection to free trade
Thou Garner goat of Texas.*

*Oh, wondrous breed of Lone Star State,
Premier of wool and hair, thy rate
Of 10 per cent is truly great—
Thou Garner goat of Texas.*

As the laughter died down after what was admittedly the best piece of goat poetry ever heard in the House of Representatives, Garner went to the cloakroom to prepare his reply. He had never attempted verse making. He could not answer verse with prose. He must answer in kind. He returned in a few minutes and obtained recognition from Speaker Clark. His speech in no way resembled Webster's reply to Hayne. It was, in fact, perhaps the shortest speech ever made in the House. In full it was:

"Mr. Speaker:

Hampie Moore is a hell of a poet—
He don't know a sheep from a goat."

Garner, in fact, had voted for a tariff on wool during committee consideration. His position was that as manufactured woolen articles carried a duty the raw material also should. He had taken this consistent stand in his six Congressional races. The committee voted him down on wool. A principal reason for the committee going along with him on the mohair levy was that most of the mohair that had come into the United States originated in the Transvaal section of South Africa and in Turkey. These countries had an absolute prohibition against the exportation to the United States of Angora goats. Before the complete bar to shipments from Transvaal was inaugurated, an export tax of \$500 per head was exacted.

After losing in committee on wool, Garner voted with his party for the passage of the bill, because there had been a reduction of as high as 180 per cent ad valorem on some kinds of wool garments and substantial reduction on all woolen goods.

Newspapermen thankful to Garner for providing a reason for the light interlude of Moore and Garner verse in an otherwise dull tariff debate held a ceremony on the steps of the Capitol in which they presented him with a flag of "The Triumphant Goat" and invested him with the title "Patron Saint of Angora."

Garner went through the grilling eight months of the special session of Congress, with its tariff, currency and other legislation, with little recognition from the White House. Once or twice he heard that President Wilson had commented on his parliamentary ability. Garner was presiding over the House gaveling administration legislation top

passage when he wasn't on the floor helping in its management. Even in the face of White House cold-shouldering he had established himself more firmly than ever with his colleagues in the Congress.

The Democratic majority was more than halved by the election in 1914. Republicans like Cannon and Longworth were returned to their seats.

With Underwood in the Senate, Garner, by 1915, was considered the most effective member of the House. He was still doing business off the record, however, and was little known to the country.

He was rated by Texas as a sort of a Lone Star Congressman-at-large. No delegation came to Washington from Texas with an errand to accomplish that did not want to see Garner as well as their own Representative. He was known as a man who could get things done.

Garner actually traveled little over Texas—never got far from the huisache, mesquite and huajillo of the brush country. About the only large town he visited in Texas was San Antonio, and this usually was on the way to and from Uvalde. He attended no state political conventions and had not attended a Democratic national convention since 1904.

In fact his duties in Washington took up so much of his time that he said in Brownsville about this time:

"I have such a large district that it is almost impossible for me to get over it. There are five counties in the district that I have never seen. If I were to start out with the intention of visiting all the towns in my district it would take at least six months."

He was no longer canvassing his district, franked no speeches home because he made none. But there were always chores to do for a district and Garner never forgot that the Representative who doesn't look after the local things for a Congressional district ordinarily does not stay in Congress to do things on a national scale.

Garner was a delegate to the St. Louis convention where the Wilson-Marshall ticket was unanimously renominated for the 1916 race. Not since the days of Andrew Jackson had there been such party harmony, on the surface at least.

The Republicans raided the Supreme Court for their candidate, Associate Justice Charles Evans Hughes. It was a nip-and-tuck election—one of great disappointment to Garner. For he saw the Democrats,

while winning the Presidency, lose their House majority. The Republicans elected 216 members, the Democrats 210 and minor parties 9. Champ Clark was again chosen Speaker by a coalition of Democrats and independents.

Wilson's plight in the House of Representatives had been growing more serious for two years. Postmaster General Burleson had been attempting the role of liaison man between the Administration and Congress for four years. He had made something of a mess of it even with the Texas delegation. Burleson's trouble with his fellow-Texans had started when he unsuccessfully pushed Thomas Watt Gregory, afterward Attorney General, for Ambassador to Mexico. Most of the Texans had favored Representative James L. Slayden, of San Antonio, for the post and considered Burleson's action in bringing out a candidate of his own as an arrogant procedure. Now with more Republicans than Democrats in the House it was certain Burleson would be no further help there.

As war clouds gathered, Garner had voted for the National Defense Act of March 23, 1916, and on March 1, 1917, he voted to furnish arms for American ships for defensive purposes.

Within two weeks after Wilson's second inaugural, war seemed inevitable. At eight thirty-five o'clock on the night of April 2, the President stood before a joint session of Congress in the House Chamber and asked for a resolution recognizing that Germany was making war on the United States, for the raising of an army of 500,000 men and co-operation with the Allies in all ways that would most effectively aid in the defeat of Germany.

All day long truculent pacifists had besieged the Capitol. A group had forced its way into Vice-President Marshall's office and were put out. They swarmed into Speaker Clark's office and groups went to the office of every Senator and Representative. Venerable Senator Lodge of Massachusetts engaged in a fist fight with one.

By night the pacifists had been cleared from the Capitol grounds. Troops of the Second Cavalry guarded all approaches to the Capitol. Policemen, secret-service men and armed post-office inspectors swarmed through the Capitol building.

Wilson came down from the White House guarded by another troop of cavalry. When he entered the House it was a scene the hall

had never seen before. Directly in front of the President and facing him were members of the Supreme Court without their robes. Envoys of foreign nations sat in a group on the floor of the House.

Vice-President Marshall and ninety Senators came in, nearly every Senator wearing or carrying a small American flag. Wilson got such a reception as Congress never gave him. It was five minutes before the cheering ended and he could commence his speech.

Congress listened intently and with no interruption while he recited the German crimes against humanity, his own and his country's efforts to believe that the German rulers had not wholly cut themselves off from the path which civilized nations follow. When he came to the sentence "armed neutrality, it now appears is impracticable because submarines are in fact outlaws when used as the German submarines are used" attention deepened. Then he said:

"There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making. We will not choose the path of submission."

At the words "submission," Chief Justice White dropped the big soft hat he had been holding, raised his huge hands into the air, brought them together and started another great volume of cheering.

Wilson did not pause at the end of his punch line: "The world must be made safe for democracy." Only Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi seemed to understand its import and he alone began the delayed applause.

At 3:12 A.M., on April 6, the House voted 373 to 50 for the resolution Wilson had asked. One of the 50 was Kitchin. From the South only three members had gone along with the House leader.

A few minutes before Kitchin had sat down after telling the House:

"Profoundly impressed with the gravity of the situation, appreciating to the fullest the penalties which a war-mad moment will impose, my conscience and judgment, after mature thought and fervent prayer for right guidance, have marked clearly the path of my duty, and I have made up my mind to walk it, if I go barefooted and alone. I have come to the undoubting conclusion that I must vote against this resolution."

Garner's first problem after voting for war was a family one. The next day, his son Tully was in his office.

"Son," Garner asked, "how do you feel about going to war?"

"I aim to go, Dad," Tully replied.

"Hell, it's not a matter of aiming to go. You are going," Garner replied. "I couldn't have cast my vote to send other boys to war, if I hadn't known I was sending my own. And just one thing more: Your mother and I will want to hear from you every time you have a chance to write, but promise you'll never ask me a favor. I might be in a position to get it and I don't want to be exposed to temptation."

The defection of Kitchin, the party's official leader in the House, at the beginning of the mightiest war in which this nation had ever engaged was a body blow to the Administration. Immediate authority was necessary to lend billions to the Allies while America itself was arming. Congressional sanction was also necessary for enlarging the Navy, erecting camps and cantonments, building ships, calling four million citizens to military service and sending half of them overseas. In addition, under the Constitution taxing measures could originate only in the House of Representatives. A complicated tax system to raise revenue had to be worked out and sweeping emergency tax bills passed; authority to sell bonds and other legislation was necessary.

Wilson called Garner to the White House and asked him to become liaison man between the President and Congress.

"I know you don't waste time on speeches and you get things done," Wilson told the Texan. "I think you have the respect and affection of men of both parties in the House."

As Wilson's liaison man, Garner cultivated the original gift for anonymity in Washington. The fact that he was acting as Congressional adviser to the President was not known for some time. From mid-April until August 17, it was not openly mentioned on the floor. On that occasion Representative Wingo, Democrat, Arkansas, made an inquiry of Mr. Garner "whom I presume for the time being is majority leader *de jure* as well as *de facto*."

Garner himself never made a reference to his role of Administrative spokesman. He conferred with Cannon, Longworth, Fordney, Mann, Julius Kahn and other Republican leaders as well as with the Democrats. In all that time he did not make a formal speech. Representative J. Hampton Moore, Republican, Pennsylvania, said on the floor:

"I wish to pay a public tribute to the gentleman from Texas. He seldom makes a speech on the floor and thus denies the public the benefit of his wisdom, but in committee he is so adroit and skillful a legislator that few can equal him."

Wilson, who originally had not liked Garner, was fond of him now. He said the Texan was direct and never engaged in slovenly or evasive thinking. Joseph P. Tumulty, Wilson's secretary, it was generally believed, had been the agent who brought Wilson around to admiration of Garner and dependence on him.

"I regard John Nance Garner as the most genuine personality that has come upon the stage of our national life in a generation," Tumulty said. "He makes conquests over the hearts of men by the simple qualities of honor, decency and fair dealing which make up the happy blend of his nature."

Wilson asked Garner to come to the White House at least twice a week and to be prepared to come oftener. Although Garner was to see Wilson oftener during those drama-packed months than the Wilson Cabinet did, few members of Congress and few people in the executive branch, other than Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo and Presidential Secretary Tumulty, knew of it.

Garner would go to the White House by streetcar, enter Tumulty's office and then go through the corridor to the President's private study. Sometimes the conferences would last for several hours. One lasted until one o'clock in the morning.

"Sometimes I would find President Wilson so fatigued and worn that I was afraid he would not be able to keep on his feet. I would try to cheer him up. I never knew whether he liked some of the rough jokes I told him or not.

"He told good stories himself and was a master of dialect. He was especially good on Irish stories. At times he would seem to be carrying the whole war on his shoulders. On occasions when he would illustrate a point by a story or a limerick and had a laugh we could transact business much faster."

On one occasion Garner found Wilson almost ill from fatigue.

"Garner," he said, "this job is almost unbearable. If it was not for my faith in the old Presbyterian belief in predestination I don't believe I could hold up much longer."

Garner made a pretense of not understanding Mr. Wilson's reference to predestination.

"Mr. President, I am the same way," he said. "I grew up in Texas with the same kind of people you grew up with in Virginia, and I am as superstitious as hell myself."

It got the relaxed laugh he wanted. Then Wilson replied:

"Garner, I think our 'superstition' will carry us both through."

Wilson, like all Presidents, wanted his legislation without delay.

"I would tell him that Congress wanted to provide all the money necessary to win the war and would do so," Garner said. "Once I said to him: 'Mr. President, the first fourteen years I was in Congress the federal government never spent as much as three-quarters of a billion dollars in any year. This war is going to cost us from \$10,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000 a year. Congress has never had any experience in raising such sums. The problem now is to get it to thinking in such astronomical terms. After the war the problem will be to get it out of the habit of thinking in such terms.'"

A few days later on the floor of the House, during consideration of a bond bill, Speaker Clark said:

"If the people conclude that this war debt is going to be piled so high that it is not going to be paid in any reasonable time they will not buy the bonds."

"Then," replied Garner, "we have got to confiscate wealth."

The approach of the 1918 election found an anti-Democratic tide setting in. It was evident that the Republicans had an even or better chance of carrying the House of Representatives. A group of Wilson's advisers, including Postmaster General Burleson, advised him to make a strong appeal for the return of a Democratic Congress. Wilson, they felt, was entrenched in the hearts of the people. Burleson believed such an appeal would make it possible for many Democrats to ride in on Wilson's coattails.

Garner was dead set against the appeal. He was anxious for the Democrats to keep hold of the government. He had a feeling that the people would resent Wilson's interference with their choice of their Senators and Representatives. Moreover, the legislation required for the conduct of the war had been enacted with Republicans and Democrats standing shoulder to shoulder. He thought that not only would the appeal be bad politics but would make the situation in Congress more difficult. However, Wilson wrote his letter:

"My fellow country . . . If you have approved my leadership . . . I earnestly hope you will express yourself unmistakably to that effect by returning a Democratic majority . . ."

It was a disastrous stroke. Quite probably the Democrats would have lost anyway. But the Wilson letter made the downfall certain. The Republicans elected 237 members of the House, the Democrats only 191 and the minor parties came up with 7 seats. The Armistice was signed before the full returns had been tabulated.

The end of eight years' Democratic sway in the House and the end of war meant many changes. Garner's liaison work ended. Wilson went to Europe for the peace conference. Kitchin did not resume the leadership. Champ Clark left the Speakership to become minority leader.

Although Garner has steadfastly refused to make comparisons between the Presidents, his conversations leave me no doubt he looked on Wilson as the towering figure among Presidents who served while he was in Washington.

"Wilson was the greatest intellectual aristocrat I have ever known," he said. "No President ever had a deeper philosophy of government. His messages to Congress were the most statesmanlike of any I have ever heard or read—they lay over all others like a dollar lays over a dime. Some of the great moments of my life were when he stood before Congress. No President ever had Wilson's gift of expression. His vocabulary was unsurpassed. He could always come up with just the exact word or proper phrase. Wilson believed in open covenants, openly arrived at. He dealt with the whole Congress not just a few leaders."

Garner, who had never guessed a national election wrong, saw no chance of the Democrats winning in 1920. He had served the first eight of his years with the Republicans in control of the House and his first ten with them in control of the Presidency. He had no desire to serve in the minority again and decided to retire with his ambition for the Speakership unfulfilled. He began the building of a home in Uvalde.

A situation in his district caused him to postpone the retirement for two years. Actually he was to postpone it for twenty more years.

His party was swept out of power in a Republican landslide in 1920 and twelve years of G.O.P. rule began. Paradoxically, Garner was later to consider that these twelve years were his most useful of all his time in Washington.

Guerrilla Fighter

THE Harding landslide of 1920 smashed the Democratic party in the House of Representatives as well as all over the nation. It left only four Democrats in the House who were there when Garner came in, only 132 Democrats of any kind. There were an even 300 Republicans and one independent. The Senate was not quite so one sided, but the G.O.P. had a majority of 22 there.

The most grievous blow to Garner was the defeat of Champ Clark in his Missouri district. The doughty old Speaker did not live to go back to private life. He died in Washington on March 2, 1921, two days before the end of his term.

Cordell Hull in Tennessee, Henry T. Rainey in Illinois and General Isaac Sherwood in Ohio were among members of the House swept into discard. New York City went Republican for one of the few times in its history, tossing out all but a half-dozen of its usually large Democratic Congressional delegation. Even Texas elected one Republican Congressman.

Garner, in a tiny minority, stood at the threshold of the four most spectacular years of his Washington service. Yet he was to begin the period in disappointment, deprived of the party leadership he felt he had earned. Another event which would cause him deep disappointment was yet two years away. The denial of party leadership came not through a caucus decision but by the action of one man.

With Champ Clark gone, the Democratic House organization restored Representative Claude Kitchin of North Carolina to the party leadership, which he had actually exercised from the retirement of Oscar W. Underwood in 1915 to the beginning of the war, and nominally held during the war. Kitchin's health was failing in 1921,

and he decided to attempt to recover it by leaving Washington for a long rest.

The expectation was general that Garner as the second ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee would automatically carry on in the absence of Kitchin. But the North Carolinian did an unexpected thing. He called a party caucus, explained the condition of his health and said he was appointing Representative Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee as acting minority leader while he was away to recuperate.

Garrett was an eminent legislator, one of the party's best debaters and a close friend of Garner's. There was no question of his popularity or his ability. He had the respect of both Democratic and Republican leaders. But his naming by one-man action surprised the House Democrats. The reason was never given. One obvious conclusion to draw would be that Kitchin resented the part Garner played as Administration spokesman during the war after Kitchin had refused to follow the President. Another reason, perhaps, lay in their differences over the tariff. Kitchin was virtually a free-trader. Garner had been elected to Congress on a platform calling for protection for raw material when the objects into which it was manufactured also carried duty. With the tariff a leading issue between the Republicans and Democrats then, as it had long been, Kitchin undoubtedly did not want to entrust the leadership to one with Garner's views.

Garner made no public comment on the unusual action of the ailing Kitchin, and plunged into preparation for the impending tariff and tax battles. These two fiscal issues were to be the leading business of Congress for the next two years. Garner, as ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee, would have to carry the load of them both in committee and on the floor.

Besides the eminence he was to gain for his handling of the tax and tariff measures, these things within the next few years were to happen to Garner:

The Ku Klux Klan was to make a supreme effort to retire him to private life.

He was to make one of the most vitriolic attacks on a fellow-member ever heard in the halls of Congress.

TERROR'S OF THE RANGE.



Garner as a House member and Pat Harrison in the Senate were a tax team which wrecked Republican tax measures. (Reg Manning, *Phoenix Republican & Gazette*)

He was to figure in speculation for the possible Democratic Presidential or Vice-Presidential nomination in 1924.

He was to be near death.

He was to get two of the most remarkable ovations ever given a member of Congress.

The depression in the farm and livestock areas which began in

1920, and continued for more than a decade, brought forth such relief proposals as the emergency tariff and, when it failed, the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill. The emergency tariff was proposed in the winter of 1921, with President Wilson in the White House.

Garner voted for the emergency tariff originally, but switched after it had been amended to include manufactured goods. He charged that "in order that relief be granted to farming and stock-raising sections we must also vote to give the manufacturers of New England a duty of from 25 to 2,500 per cent on goods coming from Central Europe."

President Wilson vetoed the bill after it had passed Republican Senate and House and the veto was sustained. It was presented to President Harding, and he signed it into law in May, 1921. The Fordney-McCumber tariff bill hearings began in the Ways and Means Committee in January 1921, and its final passage did not come until September 1922.

With the Fordney-McCumber bill under consideration on July 9, 1921, Garner got up to put on the first of the floorshows he was to give the House. It was a sultry day and the House Chamber had not yet been air conditioned. Fordney had opened the debate the day before. He paid a tribute to Garner and said Texas ought to elect him for life.

The heat did not deter nor the Fordney compliment soften Garner in his attack on the bill. He spoke for two hours, the longest speech he had ever made and he was to show the members and the galleries acrobatic gesticulation not seen since the heyday of left-handed Joe Cannon. He had, next to Cannon, most members thought, the most unusual manner of speaking. To him consideration of a tax or tariff bill was high adventure. He spoke that day in the well of the House, as he always did, standing almost up against the first row of Republican seats.

His red face grew redder as he threw both arms out from his head until they were extending full length with the palms facing one another, raising and lowering his body from the knees in violent contortions.

The bill abandoned the old plan of fixing tariff duties according to the foreign value of the object. Instead, it included a new device known as American valuation. Thus, before a rate could be fixed the

difference in the cost of production here and abroad would have to be determined. Garner centered his fire on this provision. He said it would create a tariff which would be prohibitive—the highest in American history.

Garner told the House that world conditions were so unsettled as a result of the First World War that it was impossible to ascertain differences in domestic and foreign costs. Seizing a straw hat, the first object available, he defied any member on the Republican side to tell what the rates would be under American valuation. None could.

"I am not a free-trader," he said, "neither am I for a protective tariff wall around this country that will impede the freedom of the commerce of the world. We must do business with the world if we expect to sell the excess of our farm production. The West has a lot of wheat to sell. The South has a lot of cotton to sell. How can the world pay for them? They have no gold. We have more gold today than we ought to have under proper economic conditions throughout the world. There are only three ways other countries can pay. One is with gold, the other service, the other to exchange their goods for ours. We do not propose that they shall pay us in service, because we expect to carry our own goods across the seas in our own merchant marine, so there is only one way they can pay us and that is to send us their manufactured goods.

"If you make it so other nations cannot send us their products by this American valuation proposal—by putting in this clause and estimating the value of their currency—you will close all the customs houses, and there will be no way we can sell goods. In my judgment, the greatest economic blunder that could be made would be to put the American valuation clause in even a moderate tariff bill."

It was Garner's first full-dress test as a debater on an economic issue and the Republican leaders heckled him throughout his speech. Longworth, especially, took keen delight in the process. Garner took care of himself so well in the running fire debate with Republican leaders as to win the unanimous applause of the Democrats.

Garner believed before the tariff debate had gone very far that he had the Republicans in distress. He knew he could not prevent the passage of the bill, but if he could delay it and dramatize its defects,

he could bring important modifications and he could make of it a campaign issue which would pay dividends in increased Democratic strength at the next election. The history of all tariff bills was that while the public seemed apathetic during the discussion in Congress, at the following election the party which had revised the tariff either lost the House of Representatives or had its majority whittled to the vanishing point.

On the fifth day of the debate, Garner played his ace. He moved W. Bourke Cockran of New York into the debate. The last of the old-time orators, Cockran was never better than that day. In the House of Representatives there is usually not much decorum and little chance for debate. But that day it was different. The great silver-crested head and the commanding appearance of the old warrior stilled the House tumult. Members' seats and galleries were filled. Here was a man who had been a match for Choate and more than a match for Depew and Bryan. He had been in and out of Congress since 1887, in and out of the Democratic party many times. No member of Congress had Cockran's reputation for ingeniousness of thought, epigrammatic brilliance of expression, fervent emotion, splendid voice and impressive presence.

Cockran attacked the bill with all his glibness of tongue and floods of sarcasm. He held the floor for hours, was given extension after extension of his time. His great familiarity with American economic history, of tariff bills and of financial panics, his retentive memory charmed the House. He was to live less than two years and this was his last big oratorical effort. Many believed it was his greatest speech, but that was the way with Cockran. Any audience listening to him always believed the speech he was then making was the best of his life.

Garner was highly pleased at the reaction to Cockran's speech. The Democrats were living up to their fine reputation as an effective minority party. But the honeymoon of the minority hardly lasted out the first fortnight of the tariff debate. On July 21, Kitchin, from his sickbed at Scotland Neck, North Carolina, sent a telegram imploring the Democrats to vote against every item of protection in the bill. Any other course, he said, was not good Democratic doctrine.

This was an assault on the position Garner had taken in all tariff

bills—protection for the raw material if there was protection for its finished product.

Garner lost little time replying to Kitchin.

"I have never criticized a Democrat for what I thought was want of fealty to his party," he said. "I never strike a blow in the back whether it is in politics or otherwise. I play the game squarely. I play it on top of the table.

"I have taken the floor this morning for one purpose and one purpose only, to again state my position on the tariff. After I have made my statement, no gentleman in this House will misunderstand my position; and not misunderstanding it, no honest man will misrepresent it and no intelligent man will misinterpret it.

"There are but three points of view on the tariff. One is for free trade, another is for revenue, while the third is for protection. No one can name a fourth position.

"I am not a free-trader. I am not a protectionist. I must, therefore, be a revenue-tariff man. I cannot understand a Republican who tells me he is a protectionist and wants to protect what is in his district and put what is in someone else's district on the free list. I cannot understand a Democrat who tells me he is a Revenue Democrat, but says he is going to levy 30 per cent on the clothes you wear, but admit duty free the shoes you have on your feet. I cannot understand this reasoning; and it ought not be misunderstood that when you go to the customs house as a Democrat you go not to get protection but to get money to put into the Treasury.

"They tell me that I must not vote for a duty on cotton because it is not Democratic doctrine. Where is your authority? Show me the Democratic platform or the adoption of a caucus resolution, and I will abide by it. But you ought not to say to me that I am not a Democrat because, forsooth, I do not take your views with reference to what I ought to do, when neither the Democratic platform, nor the Democratic caucus have ever spoken upon the question.

"My position is: tax one, tax all; free one, free all; protect one, protect all; catch one, catch all. I ask you Democrats one question: If you collect a revenue duty on woollen goods why not collect it on wool? I ask you why you are afraid to put 1 per cent on shoes when you put 40 per cent on hats in the Underwood bill.

"I think I have made myself pretty well understood. I am opposed to free trade, but if I am driven to choose between the theory of Mr. Fordney, protectionist, and the theory of Mr. Oldfield of Arkansas, free-trader, with conditions as they exist in Europe and throughout the world, we being a creditor nation to the extent of \$15,000,000,000, I tell you frankly I would go to free trade.

"I want to be consistent, I want to be just, I want to be fair and I do not want to have to apologize to one man because I put this on the free list and to another man because I put something else on the tax list.

"So I would take you all and as your goods come to the customs house, I would levy a rate of from 1 to 50 per cent. I would put the highest duty on luxuries. I would put the next highest on comforts. I would put the lowest on absolute necessities. I think in this method I would have a scheme of custom collection that would appeal to every honest man. When you say this is not Democratic doctrine, I want you to be as frank as I have been. I want you to tell me where you stand on the question."

Garner's forthright statement was listened to with the closest attention and he received a rising ovation from both the Democratic and Republican side as he finished. The bill passed the House that day, but merely the first round had been fought.

The Senate Finance Committee held the bill for nine months. The Senate with a Republican majority of twenty-two took the view that American valuation was not workable. It began to look as if the Congressional election of 1922 would be held with the Underwood tariff act still on the statute books.

During the twenty-one-month journey of the tariff bill through Congress the Garners lived at Congress Hall, a hotel across the street from the Capitol, where the new House office building now stands. In the back of the hotel, on the first floor, was a room known on Capitol Hill as Dinty Moore's. Here every evening many members would gather for bridge or poker. Garner was one of the regular visitors. Many of the members who participated were Western Republicans. In this way Garner was up to his old tricks. He was keeping up his friendships, not only with the Democrats, but the Republicans.

Garner was also faced at this time with the decision of whether

or not he would seek re-election. In 1920, he planned to retire at the end of two years. The two authors of the tariff bill were going out of office: Representative Fordney by voluntary retirement; Senator McCumber had been defeated for renomination in the North Dakota primaries.

The thing that decided Garner was the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan had mushroomed in the country. Some Texas members of Congress joined it. Garner denounced it as an organization which had no place in American life. It was at the risk of his political life. The Klan lost no time in replying. It announced it intended to retire Garner to private life. Garner accepted the challenge.

Hooded and white-gowned hosts gathered near his home, burned a fiery cross and announced plans for defeating him. It sent him threatening letters. Other than to make his position known on the Klan issue, Garner made no campaign. He lost counties he had never lost before, including Uvalde, but won re-election.

The tariff bill came back to the Senate late in August, after Garner had won renomination. Ostensibly a compromise bill was to be written by Senators McCumber, Smoot and McLean, Republicans; and Senators Simmons and Walsh, Democrats; meeting with Representatives Fordney, Longworth and Green, Republicans; and Garner and Collier, Democrats.

In writing what they thought was the final draft of the bill the Republicans from Senate and House paid little attention to what Garner and the other Democrats wanted and drew up the measure to suit themselves. Among other things the completed bill placed an embargo on dye stuffs and a heavy duty on fertilizer.

Garner had proved to be a first-class fighting man up to this point in the tariff discussion. Now his ingratiating manner and clever maneuvering were to bear fruit.

On September 13, Garner made the first of the forays he was to make across the aisle to capture Republican strength. He moved to recommit the tariff bill with instructions to abandon the dye embargo provisions and place fertilizer on the free list.

Fordney made a plea for the bill as written. He told his colleagues he was going out of public life and that was the last piece of legislation he would present.

"I have prayed every night for wisdom to help me prepare the best tariff bill on record," he said.

Garner paid a tribute to Fordney:

"He is a type unto himself," Garner said. "I believe we will all agree that if one had to select a standpat, dyed-in-the-wool, powder-burnt and Chinese Wall tariff man in the House of Representatives, we would select Joe Fordney. But if this tariff bill came after prayers, I doubt if the gentleman from Michigan is going to get through the pearly gates."

The Democrats were united behind Garner now. The vote came after hours of acrid debate with Fordney, Longworth and Mondell trying to stem the tide flowing against them. In a great mass desertion, 102 Republicans left Fordney and Longworth to follow Garner. By a vote of 177 to 130, the bill was recommitted with a direct order from the House compelling the committee to strike out the two objectionable sections. As Speaker Gillett announced the result, the Democratic side broke into rebel yells. Never before had a tariff bill been recommitted. The stunned Fordney moved adjournment. Garner had added this to his previous victory on the American valuation clause.

Next day in committee room Fordney said to Garner:

"You ought to vote for this bill now. Your picture is on every page of it."

On the floor, Longworth said wryly:

"The gentleman from Texas is the greatest fisherman since Izaak Walton. With the able assistance of the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Knutson, who acted as basket carrier, Mr. Garner cast his line across the line and hooked more than 100 Republicans. Let him take what satisfaction he desires from it. He will never do so well on this side again."

The tariff bill with the two Garner modifications became law, by President Harding's signature, on September 21, 1922. Garner won other victories with Republican support during the session.

He first forced the Republicans to shelve President Harding's anti-tax-free security bill. Garner conceded the evil of offering tax-free securities which he said often fall into the hands of tax dodgers. But he maintained that the bill as presented by the Administration would prohibit states, counties, municipalities, drainage districts and other

subdivisions of government from issuing bonds and would bring to a standstill internal improvements.

"It is just as reasonable to say that the counties and states should have the power to tax federal bonds as it is to say that the federal government should have the power to tax state and county bonds," he said.

Majority Leader Mondell, in laying the bill aside, gave Garner credit for wrecking it.

When the Mellon tax bill of 1921 came in on August 2, 1921, Garner attacked the proposal as a "shifting of the tax burden to those least able to pay." He sniped at the proposal of a cut in the highest surtax rate to 25 per cent and brought about a House compromise rate of 32 per cent. The Senate came nearer to his views than the House bill had, making it 50 per cent.

When the Senate bill came back to the House, Garner in a swift parliamentary move called it up and tied the hands of the conference committee by putting through a vote of acceptance of the Senate rate. Again he raided the Republican side this time turning up 94 G.O.P. votes for his proposal.

The 1921 tax bill also furnished Garner an opportunity to state his views on taxation under the country's changing economic position and lay the groundwork for his slashing attack on the second Mellon tax bill two years later.

In his speech of November 21, 1921, Garner said:

"At the very outset of my remarks I think I ought to reiterate, if I may, my personal position touching taxation, and what I believe to be the position of the great majority of the Democrats touching the same matter.

"In the first place, as I understand it, there are in this country three well-defined positions concerning taxation. One of these positions is that the government shall levy upon the masses of the people taxes necessary to run the government. The advocates of this plan use as an argument that after all the whole people must pay the tax; that regardless of what method is used it sifts back to the masses, and consequently many who are found holding this opinion are found advocating the sales tax. It is their view that the sales tax is the

simplest way of getting the money which they say the people collectively must pay anyway in the long run.

"There is another class of gentlemen who believe that all taxes necessary to run the government should be levied on wealth, and that there should be no consumption and excise taxes, which the public in general would have to pay. These two classes I have just mentioned are the two extremes. There is another class who believe that Congress should collect from the masses and by that I mean everybody, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, great and small, according to their necessities, approximately 50 per cent of the taxes necessary to run the government, and upon wealth the other 50 per cent.

"I do not believe it would be desirable or practicable to undertake to get all the revenue necessary to support the government from those we ordinarily term the wealthy class. I have as much respect for the preservation of property rights as any man who sits in this honorable body. I would never enact any law that would take away from the citizen the incentive to accumulate wealth.

"I realize that capital for the most part represents the wages of yesterday and that the wages of yesterday should be as safe from confiscation as the wages of today, and we cannot abolish poverty by destroying wealth; but while I would allow any citizen reasonable opportunity and incentive to accumulate wealth, I would also enact laws which would carry a reasonable part of the fortune back to the people through an inheritance tax collected by the Treasury of the United States. If I had my way I would have five taxes in this country, and we could get sufficient revenue from those five sources to run the government. I would have first a customs tax; second, the post-office receipts; third a tax on tobacco; fourth an income tax applied to individuals and corporations and fifth, an inheritance tax."

Garner had told me at the end of the debate on the Fordney-McCumber bill:

"I think this will be the last tariff bill drawn along these lines and debated along the lines we debated it. We are in a new fiscal era and a new economic era and we occupy a new place in the world picture. We are a creditor nation.

"The revenue yield from the customs houses in the future will be negligible. Our fiscal problems will multiply. We will collect an

enormous tax from internal earnings, principally income. It can be collected in a way to remake our society."

He made a somewhat similar statement in a House speech.

Garner's fight against the tariff bill in its final stages and against the tax bill won the admiration of Kitchin. In the closing months of his life he wrote many letters to Garner. The Texan prized them highly. A few years ago when he destroyed all his papers the Kitchin letters went with them. I think he regretted destroying them more than any other of his papers.

On April 6, 1922, Garner made a vitriolic attack on Representative Thomas L. Blanton, who, Garner said, had made a speech in Texas displaying a whisky flask, leaving the impression that such flasks were furnished free to members of Congress at the taxpayers' expense.

Representative Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky said that Blanton went up to the stationery room in the Capitol and asked for a whisky flask.

"They did not have it," Barkley said. "They advised him that they did not keep them for sale. He then requested the stationery room to order him one. The stationery room ordered him one. It was a pint flask, covered with ostrich hide, for which Mr. Blanton paid in cash at the time he got it, the price being six dollars."

Blanton had just concluded a tirade against the perquisites of Congressmen when Garner asked to be recognized for ten minutes.

The following proceedings took place:

MR. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House, in these United States there are all kinds of liars [applause]—there are artistic liars, there are inartistic liars, and then there is the common, ordinary liar.

MR. BLANTON. Well, I will hold the gentleman personally responsible to me if he calls me one.

[The Speaker ordered Blanton to take his seat.]

MR. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, if I may have order—I hope that the gentleman [Mr. Blanton] will not leave.

A MEMBER. He has left.

MR. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, when I look over here and see this grand old man from Pennsylvania, sitting here [MR. BUTLER], I know that he is a truthful man, and you could not make him lie. [Applause.] When

I come over on this side and look at our distinguished leader [Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee], every man in this House will testify that you could not wring a falsehood from him. [Applause, all Members rising.]

But, Mr. Speaker, I have in my mind's eye—I can not observe him at this moment, of course—but I have in my mind's eye an individual, not a man—an individual, a creature, who is as common and base a liar as ever spoke a word of English in this country. I have in my mind's eye, Mr. Speaker, a man who if he had the opportunity—mark my language; I want to stay within the rules of this House—who would if he had the opportunity place in the *Congressional Record* the menu of the restaurant in this building where we get our lunches, without the cost price of the different articles, in order that he might make the people of Texas believe that you were getting your food free of charge at the cost of the taxpayers of this country. I know a miserable, cowardly creature—I have him in my mind's eye at this moment—who would go to the stationery room of the House Office Building, make inquiry as to the purchase of a whisky flask, and when he found that he could not get it because they did not have them for sale, would ask the superintendent to send to Philadelphia and buy him one, in order that he might parade it in Texas as though it was given to the membership of this House free of charge at the taxpayers' expense. That creature, as I say, I have in my mind's eye. I know this individual would charge you with nepotism in order that he might parade his virtue in Texas, and at the same time have two of his children on the pay roll of the Government.

Mr. Speaker, it is a harsh thing to speak about individuals, even if they are only in your mind's eye; but I, speaking for myself alone—I say it with as firm a conviction as I ever spoke a word from the floor of this House that I believe that individual, that creature that I have in my mind's eye, would do anything in order to accumulate wealth or to place himself forward from a political standpoint. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I want to say one word for the Texas delegation. I have not mentioned a name up to date, but I want to say to the membership on the Republican side of the House, because the membership on the Democratic side already know it—I speak the sentiment of every Member of the Texas delegation when I tell you that we hang our heads in shame and in humiliation every time BLANTON, of Texas, is

referred to as our colleague. [Applause.] I speak for the Democratic Party here, I believe, the sentiment of every man in it, when I say that we look upon him as a liability and a distinct injury to our party. [Applause.] Ah, Mr. Speaker, I wish the rules of this House did not prevent me from expressing the viewpoint of all Members of the House. If I could only suspend the rules, Mr. Speaker, I would say what is in the hearts of the Members. I would say now, if the rules did not prevent me from saying it, I would say what 430 men believe at this moment, that THOMAS BLANTON of Texas, is a discredit to the House of Representatives and ought to be kicked out. [Applause.]

The Democrats made a gain of 71 in the races for the House of Representatives in 1922. A new Mellon tax bill was on the way and Garner prepared to attack it. But before Congress again convened, Harding was dead and Coolidge was in the White House.

Garner knew Harding well as a Senator. But after the Ohioan went to the White House Garner saw him only a few times.

"I think I had less dealings with Harding than any other President," he told me. "Of course he was in office for a shorter time than any other President during my time in Washington. I went to the White House several times with Congressional committees on legislative matters. That was the extent of my White House relations while he was in office.

"The executive scandals shocked the country. This shameful page in American history should have resulted in Democratic victory in 1924, had Harding lived. Harding's death and the national convention spectacle the Democrats made of themselves, combined to give the Republicans additional tenure."

But in what he regarded as a very dark Harding ledger, Garner found these credits:

"Harding had four of the best Cabinet officers ever to serve at one time in Hughes, Mellon, Hoover and Weeks, and he deserves the thanks of the country for having appointed William Howard Taft to be Chief Justice of the United States."

Garner refused to stand for the minority leadership when it became evident Kitchin could not return to Washington. He supported Garrett for the leadership.

In a statement he said:

"If the Democratic party is to be useful to the country in the Sixty-Eighth Congress, it must be united and able to register full strength. Anything that contributes to party division is hurtful, and I am not willing, even remotely, to contribute to such division. Therefore, in the interest of party harmony, I do not expect to become a candidate for the minority floor leadership in the Sixty-Eighth Congress."

But this was a great sentimental disappointment to him. Mondell had retired from the Republican leadership and Longworth was slated as his successor. But for Kitchin's action, which he could not have upset without a party fight, Garner would have assumed the minority leadership the day Longworth became majority leader.

Mellon, Coolidge, and Taxes

REPRESENTATIVE Garner's spectacular and successful campaign against the second Mellon tax plan began in the Christmas holidays of 1923. The Texan opened it with a slashing attack on the secrecy with which the Ways and Means Committee was considering the measure. He charged, too, that the Treasury was trying to coerce Congress to support it even before its provisions were known.

The tax-originating committee of the House had taken a secret Treasury draft of the proposed bill into its sessions early in December. Almost simultaneously with the arrival of the Treasury product at the committee room Senators and Representatives were deluged with letters and telegrams demanding they "support the Mellon tax plan."

Through a committee leak on December 27, two New York and one Chicago newspaper got the text of the bill. Garner insisted that the committee make its provisions available to all, but the Republican members voted him down and hastily adjourned. A day or two later Chairman Green gave the bill out on his own authority. Garner punctuated the holiday recess with blasts against it.

Garner by now was fifty-five years old and had twenty-one years of Congressional experience behind him. He was familiar with all the tricks of parliamentary jousting and in-fighting. He was adept in timing a raid across the dividing aisle in quest of Republican votes, knew how to pivot a debate to get the greatest benefit for his own party and various methods of catching the Republicans off guard.

His party's strength was far greater than when by a swift parliamentary maneuver he had forced a change in the rates of the 1921 Mellon tax bill. Yet Garner moved into the 1924 fight without any

great hopes of altering the Mellon plan in any major particular. For one thing he knew that in the previous two years Secretary Mellon had built up a reputation of financial infallibility. He was not sure his own party would stand behind him in the face of the pressure from home. But he felt the stakes were so high that he would make the fight of his life.

He told me:

"This is the time to determine the policy of who is going to pay the taxes. The crux of the fight is the surtax. The Mellon 25 per cent maximum is at least 10 or 15 per cent too low."

From his own state of Texas, Garner got the first confirmation of his claim that the public was endorsing the Mellon plan without knowing its contents. Desks of Texas Senators and Representatives were piled high with telegrams demanding support of the Mellon plan. When its provisions became public it was found that it proposed to do away with the community tax device whereby husbands and wives are permitted to divide their incomes for tax-paying purposes. The privilege was then enjoyed only by Texas, and a-half dozen other states. The Texans quickly reversed themselves and began bombarding their Congressional delegation with demands to defeat it.

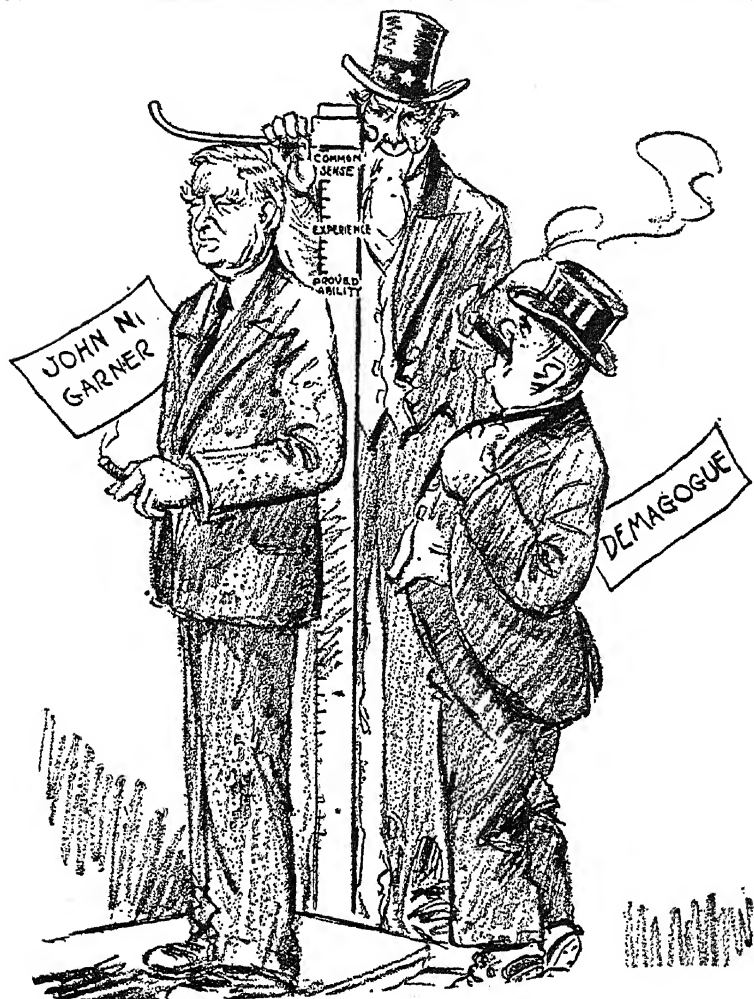
The Mellon tax bill was introduced on January 6, and the Garner bill was dropped into the hopper at the same time.

The Mellon bill proposed maximum surtaxes of 25 per cent and Garner countered with a 44 per cent ceiling. On tax reductions Mellon proposed slices of 25 per cent on incomes under \$25,000 and 39 per cent on incomes under \$200,000, while Garner proposed giving the smaller income-tax brackets a major reduction up to 60 per cent. Those with between \$100,000 and \$200,000 incomes Garner would give only 11 per cent.

All during the first three weeks in January, Garner underwent the heaviest fire of criticism of his life. Democratic as well as Republican newspapers attacked his plan. One editorial asserted that "dangerous mutilation begins when it [the Mellon plan] is departed from in the slightest."

Garner could figure out a tax bill on his cuff and sometimes could come nearer calculating the yields from a bill than the fiscal experts of

Big by Any Measure



When Garner received the first serious mention a Texan had ever had as a potential President, a Dallas paper told a trinity of qualifications. (*Dallas Times Herald*)

the Treasury could. The Mellon tax bill which he ripped apart and rewrote was 180 pages of highly technical language.

Representative Ogden L. Mills of New York, later Secretary of the Treasury, ridiculed the Garner bill, telling the House:

"You have heard of great musicians sitting down at a piano and improvising a tune. Mr. Garner sits down at a table in this chamber and improvises a tax bill and the House is asked to adopt it. If this practice is to be followed in the future I would suggest that each member of this House write on his cuff what he deems a wise measure of taxation; the cuffs shall be handed to Mr. Garner, and with his okay they shall be handed in at the Speaker's desk and then voted in, cuff by cuff."

Garner took his plan before the Democratic caucus and came away with every Democratic House member except one pledged to its support. Meanwhile, his coup had started a free-for-all fight in the Republican majority, dividing it into three mutually hostile sections. One stood for the Mellon plan intact, a second group for a 40 to 50 per cent surtax ceiling and a third for 37 per cent top.

Garner by now was certain he had won the essential parts of his program. He told me:

"When this tax bill goes to Mr. Coolidge for his signature it will be our bill in all its essential features."

On January 23, the G.O.P. ran up a flag of truce. The Mellon bill was down and out. Longworth admitted it. Chairman Green of the Ways and Means Committee proposed to sit down with the Democrats and work out a compromise bill. Garner refused. He wanted a House roll call.

The next day, Garner arose to rub salt into the Republican wounds. Especially, he taunted Longworth:

"You couldn't get the old Roman from Iowa, Bill Green [Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee], to vote for 25 per cent," Garner said. "So you stacked up the committee. Mr. Longworth was smart enough to do that. He fixed it so Mr. Green can't do anything but just sit there and laugh and pat his hands. That is as far as he can go. Of course, he is a mighty good man. I get sorry for him sitting there knowing that he is surrounded by Mr. Mills of New York, Mr. Treadway of Massachusetts, and Mr. Tilson from Connecticut—about

as hard-boiled an outfit as you could find, and Mr. Green, he can't do a thing."

Garner's supreme effort came on February 21, when he went to the House floor and asked members to deliver a knockout blow to the Mellon plan. As he offered his own plan he received another of the many remarkable demonstrations the House was always giving him. The Democrats, united and aggressive, joined by a substantial number of the Republican side, stood, cheered, gave rebel yells and cowboy whoops when Garner called the Mellon bill unfair. A farmer, banker, trader, legislator and lawyer, he spoke as one who understood the bill from the standpoint of them all.

On the roll call the House substituted the Garner bill for the Mellon bill, 221 to 196.

In its further journeyings through the House and Senate the bill underwent minor transformations and emerged with a 40 per cent surtax ceiling, 4 per cent below that advocated by Garner, and 15 per cent above the Mellon plan. On all essential points Garner had won the fight he did not think he could win.

President Coolidge signed the bill on June 2, with a statement that it was not "sound permanent tax policy."

Garner replied:

"A policy has been established as to who are going to pay the taxes in this country. It will be little changed regardless of which party may be in power at any time."

Garner's prominence in the Mellon tax-bill fight brought a boom for him as either Presidential or Vice-Presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket in 1924. It got no encouragement from him. He favored the nomination of William G. McAdoo for President, and was elected as a delegate from Texas, pledged to support the former Secretary of the Treasury. He was not interested in the Vice-Presidential nomination for himself.

Garner believed firmly that the Democrats were set to return to power in 1924. The scandals of the Harding administration had shocked the country and the Fordney-McCumber tariff bill was unpopular. Garner believed, too, that the Democratic theory of income-tax collection had a greater popular appeal than the Republican or Mellon plan.

On the seventh day of the seventeen-day fighting, snarling Madison Square Garden convention of 1924, Garner turned his delegate's badge over to an alternate and went home. The ninth ballot had convinced him the convention was hopelessly deadlocked.

I met him carrying his own suitcase through the lobby of the McAlpin Hotel as he left. He told me he thought the Democratic party had signed its own death warrant. It was the first time that the proceedings of a Democratic national convention had been broadcast and Garner felt that the party was making a spectacle of itself before the country.

"Hell, this convention won't nominate a candidate in a hundred ballots," he said.

It was an offhand remark and he was merely expressing the hopelessness of the situation. But his careless statement proved accurate. John W. Davis of West Virginia was nominated on the 103rd ballot.

Afterward Garner told me:

"If we had nominated McAdoo on the first ballot he would, in my opinion, have been elected. Smith with a first-ballot nomination would not have made as good a race as McAdoo, but he would have had a better chance of election in 1924 than he had in 1928. If the Democrats had not disgusted the country in the convention there would have been no La Follette-Wheeler ticket. Coolidge was not popular in the summer of 1924. His great popularity came after his election that year."

A dispirited Democratic minority came back for the short session of Congress in December 1924. The Republican margin of eighteen in the House had run up to sixty-four in the Coolidge landslide. There was no business before Congress other than the regular annual appropriation bills.

On February 15, Garner was stricken with pneumonia. For days his condition was critical. The House watched every scrap of news from his bedside. On March 4, Representative Luther Johnson, and a few other Texas members of Congress went to the hospital and found him improved.

"I know what you fellows think," Garner told his colleagues. "You have been thinking you are going to get one of those free trips to

Texas on a funeral train. Well you are not. I am not going to die and do you the favor."

Johnson went back to the Capitol and took the word to Longworth.

Longworth went to the floor of the House and said:

"There is a great leader of Democracy. I speak of one who has been in the valley of the shadow, and nothing ever cheered me more than the sure knowledge that he is on the way to safe recovery. I am about to violate all precedents of this House, so far as I know, and I do not believe the Speaker will call me to order when I ask three cheers for Jack Garner. Are you ready?"

The entire House arose and gave three cheers. Speaker Gillett joined in the demonstration of affection. Then Gillett said:

"This House in time becomes a pretty infallible judge of a member's merit. It learns to appraise motives. It discriminates between the modest men who with sincerity are trying to render service and the men who are working only for display and self-advancement. And it is refreshing to note that although the home folks may often be deceived by the fake statesmen who are always playing to the gallery, yet here the sincere and industrious and modest man has his recognition and his reward. I would deem the genuine esteem and respect and confidence of this body the highest tribute a man could earn."

In 1924, Garner obtained wide publicity when it was discovered that for eight years he had not introduced a bill in the House of Representatives. Of this the Baltimore *Evening Sun* said in an editorial:

"As a statesman Mr. John Nance Garner of Texas has his shortcomings. But in one respect the Congressman from Texas is unique. For eight years he has not introduced a single bill in the House of Representatives. Whatever the More Laws Association may think of this record, however much the tank towns of the Lone Star State may languish without post offices and government buildings, however much the contractors may damn him for not giving them the opportunity to dredge the upper reaches of some six foot creek, the fact remains that the people of the United States owe Mr. Garner a debt of gratitude.

"Mr. Garner has undoubtedly given some thought to the original

principles of the party of Jefferson. He knows, apparently, that some of those principles are set forth in this sentence:

“That government governs best which governs least.”

“With that knowledge in hand Mr. Garner has charted his course. It is tough on the pork barrel, but it is great stuff for the taxpayers. . . .”

Garner, in fact, introduced only four major bills in his Congressional career. They were:

The income-tax bill, which was eventually made effective by a constitutional amendment.

The currency bill of 1907, features of which were incorporated in the Federal Reserve.

Federal aid to good roads, which was incorporated in the Bankhead Federal Aid program in 1916.

The Public Works program, introduced in 1932, and vetoed by President Hoover.

Speaking of this part of Garner's record, James F. Byrnes, former Representative, former Senator, former Supreme Court Justice and former Secretary of State, said in a Senate speech in 1941:

“Others will speak or write of John N. Garner, the Speaker and Vice-President. I wish only to refer to John N. Garner, the legislator.

“I came to the House of Representatives in 1911. I am certain that for at least six years thereafter Representative Garner withheld from the *Congressional Record* all remarks made by him on the floor of the House. If the historian looks to the bills that have been passed by the Congress he will find few bills bearing the name of Mr. Garner. He will find that few bills were introduced by him. There is a reason for it. Shortly after I came to the House of Representatives, Mr. Garner told me that it was his policy to encourage others to introduce bills. It was his policy, whenever he had an idea which he believed, if written into law, would promote the best interests of the nation, to induce a prospective opponent or a doubtful supporter to sponsor the legislation. When he achieved that, he knew his purpose was accomplished.

“While the *Congressional Record* will disclose few speeches made by him and few bills introduced by him, those of us who served with him know there is hardly a measure of importance which was enacted in the last quarter of a century of his service in Washington to which John Garner did not effectively contribute. The *Congressional Record*

will not show the remarkable influence he exercised upon the members of the House and Senate during his long service. He was an efficient legislator. He is a great American. As long as honesty, truthfulness and courage are appreciated the services of John N. Garner during four decades will be held in high regard by the American people."

From 1926 on, Mr. Garner's interest in the new men in the House was heightened. He looked upon an election somewhat as a baseball manager looks on a spring training trip, for the development of a new Wagner, Cobb or Ruth. Out of the average seventy-five new members, brought in by each Congressional election, he looked for two or three possible outstanding men. He kept his eye on the new men in the back rows. If they turned out to be good legislators he didn't much care what party they belonged to. He thought a good line could be got on them in their second term. He once told me:

"The most useful legislator I ever knew was not a member of my party. His name was James R. Mann, and he was a Republican from Illinois. He was the hardest worker and the most adroit parliamentarian. But I like to think my party has furnished more good legislators than the Republicans.

"Most times when men sit down around a legislative conference table to work out a solution of matters of vital concern to their country they forget to what political party they belong. I have often urged intelligent compromise in legislation. Congress brings together men with that difference in background and diversity of opinion so necessary in a Republic.

"Men who have known how to compromise intelligently have rendered great service to their country. The most constructive laws on our statute books have been put there by intelligent compromise. That does not mean that men have to abandon fundamentals or basic principles."

Garner got a surprising amount of information on new Democratic members. When Representative Graham Barden, a new member from North Carolina, dropped in to see him, Garner said:

"I hear you will stand without hitching. I am glad of that. Out in my country a cow horse wasn't worth a damn unless he would do that. Most of the time there wasn't anything to hitch him too."

Garner was sixty now. His white hair and heavy white eyebrows

gave him a striking appearance. To a freshman lawmaker in his thirties or early forties, Garner was a fabulous figure. He would give a new member a word of encouragement by dropping in unexpectedly at his office with a greeting:

"How are you, boy? Are they treating you all right here?"

He would seldom tarry long enough to sit down.

Most of the newcomers had heard of his reputation as the canniest man in Congress and went to him for advice. He didn't force it on anyone but gave it casually and tersely. Garner was never a political drudge and had a sovereign recipe on how not to be a mere hack.

I once heard him tell Representative Lindsay Warren, then a freshman member from North Carolina, and now Comptroller General of the United States:

"You can't know everything well. Learn one subject thoroughly and find out as much as you can about the others. Get useful information for members of this House when you are going to speak. You can't spend your time better. It's finer recreation than fishing. There is nothing so useful or more thrilling than facts. Your colleagues here want information and will listen to a man who has knowledge of his subject. They ought not to have to give ear time to anyone else."

Some years before he had made a similar statement to Representative Green of Iowa, during a tariff debate:

"The gentleman from Iowa," said Garner, "undertakes to master every detail of every schedule and every item and every paragraph and every amendment in it, so that when it comes to the practical test he knows less about the real merits of any particular schedule than any man on the floor."

He told another newcomer, pointing to a newspaperman:

"That fellow reads all the newspapers. He tries to learn all the fine points of his trade. If I was a new member of Congress I'd start reading the *Congressional Record* every day and I would read committee reports."

Garner was as approachable as any man in Congress, but his manner did not invite familiarity. He was not a first-name caller on short acquaintance. The people he called by their first names he had known a long time.

When he began to pick lieutenants he picked them from all sections of the country. When Garner's leadership duties began to take up so much of his time he looked around for a good figure man for the Ways and Means Committee. His choice was Representative Fred Vinson of Kentucky, later Chief Justice of the United States.

"Vinson is a fast man with a stub pencil," he said. "I am a cuff figurer. Vinson is more artistic."

Garner contended that while seniority might bring a man to the top in Congress, longevity would not make him a respected leader.

"In Congress as elsewhere," he told me, "the richest plums go to them who help themselves. Self-reliance, energy, sincerity and extra effort—given ability—is the answer to Congressional success."

To a member of Congress who told him a certain course would give him much publicity in his district, Garner said:

"Of course, trivial and sensational things will get you more publicity than significant things. There was a crazy fellow here who had reporters assigned to cover him exclusively."

Garner's easy informal manner in addressing the House charmed new members. In earnest debate he would forego the formal designations such as: "The gentleman from New York"; "the gentleman from Arkansas"; and "the gentleman from North Carolina"; and would address Representative Mills as "Oggie"; Representative Wingo as "Otis"; Representative Doughton as "Bob." Sometimes he spoke in colloquial language and he admitted at times that his grammar creaked.

Garner never had any trouble finding a way to tell the House anything he wished to tell and debate. Rules forbid a member of either House or Senate from making derogatory remarks about a member of the other body. Once when he wished to speak of the action of certain Senators he said:

"I am now going to speak about 'Congressmen.' When I say 'Congressmen' I mean men who serve both at the other end of the Capitol and this end. A Congressman is a member of Congress. If you want to designate particularly you must say 'a Senator' for a member of the Senate and 'a Representative' for a member of the House. Now, I am going to talk about 'Congressmen' who do not serve in this House. I am satisfied that gentlemen here will understand who is who."

Garner kept up his fight against Mellon fiscal proposals all through the Coolidge administration. Longworth had succeeded Gillett as Speaker. The Republicans held a majority of sixty-four in the House after Coolidge's election in 1924, and of forty-two after the 1926 Congressional election. But Garner continued his raiding tactics. In the estate-tax fight of 1926, Chairman Green of the Ways and Means Committee joined him.

Garner told the House it was a fair, just and equitable basis of taxation.

"The estate tax is essentially a tax upon wealth," he said. "It operates on wealth and ability to pay regardless of geography or state lines. It is the question of exercising the right to levy a tax for the transfer of property."

Garner carried the House along with him, but the Senate voted its repeal. Senate and House conferees went into a tight deadlock. President Coolidge sent for Speaker Longworth to discuss the possibility of the bill's passage with the estate-tax repealer. Longworth took Garner with him.

"I yield to the gentleman I brought along with me," Longworth replied. "He knows more about what is going to happen than I do."

Coolidge asked Garner for the answer.

"You want an honest answer of course," Garner replied. "It hasn't got as much chance as a snowball in hell."

Garner used poker terms in telling the House the result of the conference with the Senate. He said:

"From the very nature of things when you go into a conference with a body of equal power in enacting legislation you must take into consideration their viewpoint as well as your own. In coming to an agreement you must yield something on your side or else lay down the proposition wholly that the other body shall take the House provisions as a whole or they will have no law. The House conferees did not do that as to all amendments, but in the course of the conference they did do that in reference to one amendment, which was that on the estate tax.

"Your conferees with all the earnestness of their souls endeavored to reach an agreement. I wish I could have preserved in some way the facial expression of the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Green, on one or

two occasions, because it seemed to break his heart to give in. I would urge him to stay and he would stick but they would come around to the same point and say: 'Gentlemen, we have done this and we have done that, and we have done the other' but when we came down to the estate tax finally, they made all kinds of propositions.

"We finally set the hand down and said—and I think I made the statement—"Gentlemen there are 205 amendments in the bill; you can yield on 204 and then leave the estate tax for us to yield on, but in such case there will never be a bill, because we are going to have that estate tax in the law or this bill will never become law."

The Senate yielded.

On other than fiscal legislation, Coolidge and Garner got along excellently. Coolidge especially pleased him with the Russian statement in his first message to Congress in December 1923. Garner was strongly opposed to recognition of the Lenin-Trotsky regime. In the face of strong agitation for Russian recognition, Coolidge told Congress that the United States did not propose "to enter into relations with another regime which refuses to recognize the sanctity of international obligations" or to "barter away for the privilege of trade any of the cherished rights of humanity."

"Whenever," Coolidge said, "there appears any disposition to compensate our citizens who were despoiled, and to recognize that debt contracted with our government, not by the Czar but by the newly formed Republic of Russia; whenever the active spirit of enmity to our institutions is abated; whenever there appears work meet for repentance our country ought to be the first to go to the economic and moral rescue of Russia."

Of his personal relations with Coolidge, Garner said:

"President Coolidge was very kind to me. I liked to have breakfast with him. He would invite Longworth and me down. I was never late and Nick was never on time. I had nice visits with him while waiting for Nick to arrive. Sometimes he was humorously taciturn and sometimes he was garrulous. Coolidge was no innovator, but he suited the mood of the country at the time he served. He seemed to have an unerring judgement of people. He could spot a gold-bricker quicker than anyone I ever saw."

But Garner said the helpings at the Coolidge table were not over-generous and sometimes left him hungry. He said once:

"The sausages Coolidge serves on the White House table are the smallest I ever saw."

The Coolidge breakfasts came a couple of hours after Garner's breakfast time. He got up at six o'clock in the morning both in Washington and in Texas. He liked his meals finished before seven o'clock. And he ate a generous breakfast. It usually consisted of fruit and one or two lamb chops.

Garner's fight for the retention of the federal estate tax brought him strongly financed opposition in 1928. The money, Garner charged, came from outside his district. A similar fight was made against Republican Chairman Green of the House Ways and Means Committee, in his Iowa district. Both were re-elected.

Sid Hardin, Garner's defeated opponent in the primaries, made charges of irregularities. Garner demanded the charges be investigated.

"If any evidences of irregularity are produced against me I will resign," he said.

A House committee went to Texas to probe the charges. While the committee was sitting at McAllen, Representative Carl R. Chindblom of Illinois, a Republican member of the committee, said:

"I am a member of the Ways and Means Committee. I sit on the Republican side of this committee, and Mr. Garner sits on the Democratic side. I wish to state here that if this investigation committee should find the slightest evidence reflecting on Mr. Garner, the entire House of Representatives would be the most astounded body in the world."

Hardin admitted he had no evidence and the case collapsed.

Garner now was to come into undisputed possession of the House leadership.

Representative Finis J. Garrett announced his retirement to run for Senator from Tennessee. Twice Garner's friends had urged him to run for the leadership. He declined. He knew that Garrett had staunch friends, too, who would resent such action. He had felt that Garrett eventually would seek the Tennessee Senatorship and he preferred to wait for that instead of causing a breach in the Democratic ranks.

Garner, all during Garrett's tenure as minority leader, had been ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee and chairman of the Democratic Committee on Committees which chose all Democratic committee members. He would now be the Democratic nominee for Speaker, would be defeated and would then assume full leadership of the Democrats in the House.

Side Room Educator

ON APRIL 15, 1929, Nicholas Longworth routed John N. Garner for Speaker of the House in a landslide of similar proportions to that by which Herbert Hoover had defeated Alfred E. Smith in the preceding November. The vote was Longworth 267, Garner 164. The Republican majority of 104 in the House had been exceeded only twice during Garner's service—after the sweeps of Theodore Roosevelt in 1904 and of Warren G. Harding in 1920.

Garner escorted Longworth to the chair and introduced him to the House as "one of the most impartial and fair presiding officers that ever occupied this exalted position. He is beloved by the entire membership of this House regardless of political affiliation. He is a great statesman, a real outstanding American."

Longworth replying, said:

"I have just been presented to the House as its presiding officer by a man who received the unanimous vote of his party for Speaker, thereby carrying with it as a necessary incident his elevation to the leadership of the Democratic party in the House. I congratulate you members seated on the east side of the aisle in your choice. The gentleman from Texas and I entered Congress together twenty-six years ago. That he is a better man than I, in the estimation of his constituents, is made clear by the fact that his service has been continuous, whereas mine was interrupted by a vacation of two years, by no means of my own motion. During all these years our friendship has been continuously abiding, and our affection, esteem and respect the one for the other is and has been, I am proud to say, mutual.

"Many years ago a distinguished Senator from my state, Senator Foraker, coined a phrase exemplifying the activities and future of his

party. It was this: 'Vim, vigor, victory.' Under the leadership of the gentleman from Texas I formally guarantee you the first two."

The House Democrats, when Garner assumed the leadership, were torn as an aftermath of the preceding Presidential campaign. But that was only part of the party's woe. Its representation in the Senate, in the State Houses and even in the courthouses of the nation was at the vanishing point. The Republicans not only made close to a clean sweep north of the Mason-Dixon line but also carried four solid south states.

That Garner, who had supported Smith enthusiastically in the Presidential campaign, was the man best equipped to unify and get out of his party in the House everything it had in it was rather generally agreed. As Clinton W. Gilbert had said of him in *Collier's* a few weeks before:

"Retirement of Finis Garrett of Tennessee makes John N. Garner of Texas floor leader of the Democrats in the lower chamber—and Jack Garner comes very near to being the best all-around member of the House.

"He does not excel in any one quality—except, perhaps that of being the best politician on either side. But he has more of the qualities that go to make the ideal member than anyone who has been in the House since Uncle Joe Cannon was in his prime.

"That does not mean that Garner is at all like Uncle Joe, who in striped trousers and a plug hat might have sat in for the long, lean, shrewd Uncle Sam of a generation ago. The time of Uncle Joe Cannon is past.

"But Jack Garner has a touch of the frontier about him; of a frontier that is conquered by tractors and dynamite and oil derricks. Onion grower and goat raiser, he has wrestled with the soil of Texas. He had experienced life in direct contacts. He knows men and speaks their language.

"There is no member of the House on whose level he has not been and whose language he does not speak. He is a common man who has made his own money and is not stuck up about his wealth. He looks, with his ruddy face and bristling gray hair, a little rough, quite obviously of the first generation. That's a great advantage in Congress; the members like to feel that the leader is one of their own kind.

"He has what few men who have made their pile have—the energy to start off on a new career. Most men have only one career in them, but perhaps Jack has several. He is as fresh at fifty-nine as he was at twenty. At any rate, it is inconceivable that anyone could at any time have been any fuller of energy and gusto than he is now. And energy is a wonderful quality; it is the great human magnet.

"All his forces are in action at once. He speaks a torrent of words; he works himself into a passion. He is intuitive and sees things that other men do not see. He senses ideas as they are generating and is aware of situations before they have formed.

"His capacity for friendship gives him an understanding of what is going on in the enemy's camp. He is a master of the wires that center in the cloakroom."

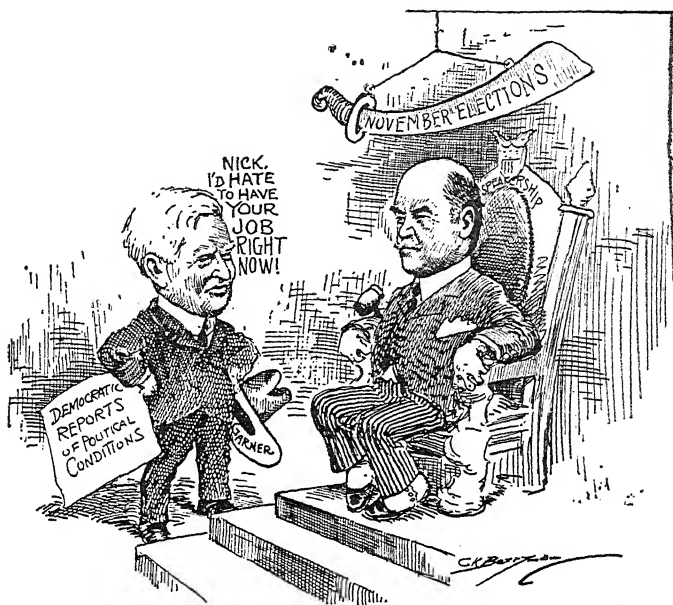
Within a week after Garner became minority leader, Capitol insiders began to hear of a room in the Capitol where the Speaker and the minority leader were holding momentous conferences and discussing the business of the new session of Congress. It finally became known as the "Board of Education" and thus was written into the history of the Capitol.

It really was the third on the list of the Longworth-Garner get-together places. The first was the "Daniel Webster room," a room in the Capitol catacombs to which reputedly the great Massachusetts Senator at times had repaired when under the weather and there slept until he felt better.

I personally knew something about this room. To it Messrs. Garner and Longworth invited some of their congressional colleagues and gave for me a farewell when I was leaving to go into the First World War.

Later there was a place known as the "Cabinet Room." It was a room on the third floor of the old House office building. Its furnishings consisted of a roll-top desk, a few chairs and a long table piled up with daily and country weekly newspapers from Garner's district. The roll-top desk contained liquor. A faucet supplied what Garner called "branch water."

Longworth was elected to honorary membership of this Democratic "club" and paid it frequent visits. When Garner became Democratic leader there were too many callers to enable the "Cabinet" to assemble



The 1930 election was so close the question of whether Democrats or Republicans would organize the House of Representatives was not decided until months later. Garner's political foe and personal friend, Nicholas Longworth, had died in the meantime and Garner succeeded him as Speaker. (C. K. Berryman, *Washington Star*)

in peace. The same was true of Longworth's office. So they obtained the hideaway which first was whispered about as "the sanctum sanctorum." But because it soon became known that Longworth and Garner were conducting a school which taught, among other things, the disadvantages of legislative deadlocks and filibusters and gave fine points in the maneuverability of legislation, Representative John McDuffie of Alabama gave it the name of "Board of Education."

Only men devoted to one another and each devoted to the principles of his party could have met on such terms. The Longworth-Garner friendship in length of durability was perhaps the most famous of Congressional history. Walter Chamblin, Jr., chief of the Associated

Press House staff and the principal historian of the Board of Education recalled that Andrew Jackson, Garner's idol, formed a similar friendship with the rich and cultured Henry Livingston of New York, but neither was a prominent member; both left the House after short terms.

Sessions of the Board of Education usually started at four-thirty or five in the afternoon and lasted until six. They usually opened with a charge by Garner that the Republican organization was using steam-roller tactics to crush the Democratic organization and a quarrel. Then the legislative business at hand was discussed. Other members interested in the pending legislation would be called in and heard, usually briefly.

The couth Longworth had a fastidious distaste for detail.

Garner also wanted a quick summing-up. He would say:

"Hell, don't tell me what the bill says. Tell me what it does."

When an understanding was reached it was a precise one. Neither the Texan nor the Ohioan would tolerate anything hazy or vague and there was never the slightest variation in the agreement between the two.

Neither Garner nor Longworth believed a newspaperman would violate a confidence. They transacted highly important business before Chamblin as well as Paul Mallon of the United Press, William S. Neal of the International News Service and others.

The first time I ever entered the Board of Education, Garner was unlocking it to go in. It had a few chairs, a davenport, a big round mahogany table and a huge gold-encased mirror.

"What's up?" I asked.

"Oh, the Republicans have cooked up another nefarious scheme and I am going to try to talk Nick out of it and save the people a few of their liberties," he replied.

Inside, Longworth called Garner a "one man cabal" bent on hampering legislation. Garner replied in kind.

Many members, especially those who had not been in Congress long, heard all sorts of rumors about what went on behind closed doors of the Board room. Some Republicans thought that Garner got the best of Longworth. On the other hand, some Democrats felt that Longworth got the best of Garner. The truth is that neither really put anything over on the other.

In the days of both the "Cabinet" and the Board of Education it must be remembered Longworth always had a Republican majority at his back. This majority, except for a few things such as the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill and the Mellon tax plan, seldom wavered in loyalty. Longworth would often urge Garner not to use legislative stratagems to tie up bills. Garner would agree sometimes, usually after having wangled in return something of benefit to the Democrats. These sessions with their ultimate understandings made for efficient legislation in the large and unwieldy House and thereby benefited the country generally. Most matters between the parties could not be settled by the Board of Education. Neither Longworth nor Garner had any idea of back-alley trading. They merely sought to expedite matters.

The only argument between Garner and Longworth, I remember witnessing was in the days of the "Cabinet." J. P. Morgan had given his London residence at 14 Princess Gate, on Hyde Park, for an Embassy residence. It was valued at from \$250,000 to \$300,000 and an appropriation of \$150,000 was asked of Congress for repairs. Garner attacked the proposal on the floor and said it might be a violation of the Lowden act which restricted the cost of embassies to \$150,000.

"It does not seem to be very good public policy on our part to accept as a gift from some wealthy American a property for an embassy and then appropriate \$150,000 or \$200,000 or \$300,000 to fix up that building for an embassy. I do not believe the American people want Congress to indulge in such performances."

Longworth favored acceptance of the London gift and was anxious that this country own all its embassies abroad. In the "Cabinet" Garner called the London offer a "white elephant." Longworth said Garner wanted ambassadors to live in "dugouts."

Afterward, I asked Longworth how the argument had come out.

"Oh, we got that settled," he replied, "and are working on one in South America now. We're deadlocked on the plumbing. I want running water and he is holding out for bowls and pitchers."

In reality, they had talked the matter of homes for ministers and ambassadors since they served on the Foreign Affairs Committee. Garner alluded to it in a discussion of Longworth. He said:

"Being able to analyze any problem with sound logical reason and then having the courage to maintain your position is evidence of

wisdom and character. Mr. Longworth had both. He succeeded in preserving the chemical industry of this country, early in the war, by his masterly handling of the legislation. We have frequent fights about foreign embassies but he changed my opinion on that legislation and won me around to his way of thinking."

The country had prohibition when the Board of Education functioned. If a drink was taken at the end of a meeting it was called "striking a blow for liberty." Longworth would then take Garner to his hotel residence in the Speaker's car, which Garner called "our car." On the way to the Capitol in the morning Longworth would stop by Garner's hotel and pick up his political adversary.

The Board of Education granted an affiliation to an eating auxiliary known as the La Guardia-Boylan Spaghetti Association, a joint enterprise of Representatives Fiorello H. La Guardia, Republican, and John J. Boylan, Democrat, of New York, and often Longworth, Garner and others would attend the spaghetti parties.

At one of their first meetings in the Board of Education Garner told Longworth that the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill, then under consideration in the House, would beat the Republicans in the 1930 Congressional elections and that he would consequently defeat Longworth for Speaker.

"Put a ring around that date, December 7, 1931, if you have a calendar that far ahead. That is about the date when the next Congress meets. You'd better let me use the car with you. You'll want me to let you ride when it is mine."

The Smoot-Hawley tariff bill would be the seventh general revision since Garner had become of voting age. There had been the McKinley bill of 1890, the Wilson-Gorman bill of 1893, the Dingley bill of 1897, the Payne-Aldrich bill of 1909, the Underwood bill of 1913 and the Fordney-McCumber bill of 1922. In three of them he had participated as a member of Congress.

Garner said he felt about another tariff bill like Underwood's cobbler. He related the anecdote told by Senator Oscar W. Underwood, who participated in four tariff revisions, beginning with the Dingley bill:

"Down in Kentucky there was a cobbler who unexpectedly inherited a large sum of money. He locked up his shop and went out in search of

pleasure—in all sorts of wild dissipation. Finally he spent all his money and returned to his humble cobbler's bench. Not long afterward a lawyer went to the shop and informed the cobbler that he had inherited another fortune. He looked up from his bench and said: 'My God! must I go through all that again?' And that is the way I feel about another tariff bill."

Garner stated the Democratic tariff position in a radio speech in April. He opposed future general revisions. For future dealing with the tariff he proposed a fact-finding tariff commission and revision of any tariff bill at any time when facts showed it justified.

The sociability and joviality between Longworth and Garner did not extend to the House floor. This fact was demonstrated on May 7 when Garner opened his attack on the tariff bill by accusing Longworth and Majority Leader Tilson of "quaking in their boots, fearful of the tremendous power they have on their own side, afraid you cannot wield or control it. With a majority of 104 in the House you would deprive a minority of only 163 members opportunity of offering amendments."

When the House took up the bill under strict rules prohibiting amendments, Garner went to the floor with a speech intended item by item to show its cost to the consumer.

"Striking direct at the workingman, the farmer, and the small businessman—the real foundation upon which American progress and prosperity has been established—the Hawley-Smoot tariff,"* said Mr. Garner, "places an unjust and unnecessary burden of hundreds of millions of dollars annually upon those already overburdened by the gradual development of a tariff system which extends special favors to the few at the expense of the masses.

"No greater fraud was ever perpetrated upon the American people than the claim of proponents of the Hawley-Smoot bill that it is designed 'to protect American Labor,' a statement which the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee had the audacity to insert in the title of the bill. Its real purpose is to exploit, not to protect, and the millions of American workingmen, as well as the farmers and businessmen, are the targets against whom these shafts of tariff exploitation are aimed.

* *Cong. Record*, June 6, 1930. P. 10665.

"It is extremely unfortunate that the average individual does not have the time or the information at hand to ascertain with any degree of accuracy how he will be affected personally. An excessive tariff can be classified as an intangible tax which reverts to the protected interests instead of the government. The formulation of a tariff bill has developed into a wild scramble on the part of many selfish interests to secure the assent of Congress to the imposition of indefensible burdens upon the consumers. The consumer has no definite knowledge of how hard he is hit by this intangible tax. He cannot ascertain the production costs on the articles he buys nor the cost of distribution. In a vague way he knows that the costs of the necessities of life are constantly mounting; that the already swollen fortunes of those favored by excessive tariff rates are expanding; but he pays the extortionate prices created by these indefensible rates and merely utters ineffectual protest against the system which has placed an intangible and unreasonable tax upon practically every necessity of life.

"Almost every article the average American citizen wears, eats or uses in his daily routine carries the tariff tax. Awake or asleep he is constantly adding to the profits of those interests which are granted a special dispensation through the tariff to exploit him. . . ."

Garner then proceeded with a speech that was for him uncommonly long, in which he outlined the story of an American family from morning to night of a normal working day, showing that almost everything the family ate, wore or used was subject to a tariff tax. His mastery of tariff schedules was demonstrated in this speech by his quoting extemporaneously at least sixty-seven specific rates on articles in common use, such as soap, rugs, razors, shirts, brooms, hats, cement, linoleum, socks, oatmeal, brushes, silverware, china and tombstones.

Where Representative Sereno Payne of New York had been Garner's chief adversary in the Underwood tariff fight of 1913 and Representative Joseph Fordney of Michigan, in the Fordney-McCumber bill of 1921-1922, this time most of his floor exchanges were with Representative Allen Treadway of Massachusetts.

Treadway, a huge, barrel-chested man, had a very large head. He wore a number eight hat. In a bellowing voice he attacked Garner, called him a low-tariff man in everything except mohair.

At the end of Treadway's one-hour speech, Garner asked for one minute to reply. He said:

"The gentleman from Massachusetts has the biggest hood, the loudest horn and the least horsepower of any machine I ever saw."

Garner continued to fight the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill during its fourteen-months-long journey through Congress. He moved to recommit it and then voted against its passage. He left no such imprints on the legislation as he had on the Fordney-McCumber bill. But when President Hoover signed the Smoot-Hawley bill on June 17, 1930, Garner was sure the Democrats had a first-class issue for the 1930 Congressional campaign.

The depression continued to deepen. Garner's first move, intended to put money into circulation, was the introduction on January 5, 1931, of a bill proposing to pay veterans of the First World War the cash surrender value of their adjusted compensation certificates. There were \$1,250,000,000 of these outstanding, payable in 1945.

In a House speech he said that the soldiers needed the money and that this amount of money put into circulation in depression times would be of benefit to everyone.

"By giving the soldier the option of cashing his insurance certificates now instead of waiting until 1945, you would be saving the government not less than \$300,000,000," Garner said. "I believe if all these settlements were made at one time the savings to the government might run as high as \$500,000,000 and you would be giving the soldier a cash settlement at this time when he needs it.

"The soldier was allowed a certain sum based on his service. Instead of paying him cash, Congress decided to issue these insurance certificates. What I have proposed is a fair settlement between the taxpayers and the soldiers. I think you ought to settle on a sensible basis and do it while it will benefit the country economically and thereby avoid a more difficult problem in the future when money rates will be higher. They are now lower than anywhere in the world, and money is cheaper than ever in the history of any people. You can settle these matters now and at the same time improve the economic conditions of the country."

His bill was shelved.

The most widespread drought of American history added itself to

depression in 1930, and the unhappy country went still deeper into distress. Twenty-four states, including all the Southern states, the great food-producing states of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania and the Northwestern states of South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana and Washington, were the principal sufferers.

A Republican-sponsored measure proposed an appropriation of \$30,000,000 out of which individual farmers would be permitted to borrow up to \$300 each for the purchase of seed for a 1931 crop, fertilizer and feed for work stock.

Garner urged that the bill be amended to allow the purchase of human food also. Republicans, however, refused to thus enlarge the scope of the bill and reported it under a rule barring amendments.

Garner went to the floor and castigated the Republican leadership for passing such legislation under "gag rule." In the debate he gave his position on relief, an issue which was to occupy the attention of the country for the next eight years.

"Speaking for myself alone, if it ever comes to a point that starving people must be taken care of, I will help take care of them if and when absolutely necessary out of the Treasury of the United States," he said. "It is unconscionable to think that you may picture a situation where a large percentage of the people of this country are starving and that we, as members of Congress, cannot find a sound economic policy that will help them out of the Treasury of the United States."

Garner, who had never contemplated such a thing as deficit financing, then gave his formula for raising money for relief.

"I will tell you what I can do, and I am giving you the figures of the Treasury Department and not my own figures," he said. "If necessary, I would increase the surtax on individual incomes of over \$100,000, 5 per cent and get \$108,000,000. Every man and woman in this country who has an income in excess of \$100,000 ought to be willing, temporarily, at a time like this, to contribute something to help take care of the poor. A 5 per cent increase in surtax on incomes over \$100,000, would produce over \$100,000,000 to the Treasury of the United States, for feeding the poor of the country. It would take no complicated legislation. It can be done in a resolution of six lines. Do you tell me, sir, that there is something in your conscience, something in the Constitution that would prohibit you from exercising your

right in this House to collect that money, if need be, to use in feeding the poor of your city and your state?

"The Democratic party I believe, will never tolerate human suffering in this country when we can relieve it. Picture the plight of the poor man that borrows \$300—yes; he borrows \$300 and puts it in the bank. It is placed to his credit to buy stock, feed, grain and fertilizer for his farm. He has not a particle of food in his house. He has a wife and children, and in order to get food for them he must go to the Red Cross. The Red Cross replies, 'you have \$300 in the bank.' He says, 'no; I cannot use that for food. My mules are fat. My grain is here to plant. Here is feed for the stock, but my children are suffering. I must have food.'

"The result is, you say, you cannot give it to him. Why, gentlemen, that is ridiculous. You make a fraud out of that farmer. You cannot tell me human nature is such that if that man is loaned \$300, for grain, fertilizer and feed for his stock he will not use it for his children. You cannot go against human nature, and the natural thing is for that man to feed his family. You make a fraud out of him by telling him that you will loan him \$300, but he must put it in his bank and that he cannot use any of it for his suffering children. You are just making a liar out of him, because he must and will take care of his family first and the prime purpose of borrowing that money is to protect his family for the next year."

The big Republican majority of 104 voted Garner down again, but it would be the last time.

The result of the 1930 Congressional election was so close that it was evident that deaths before the beginning of the next session of Congress might determine whether Democrats or Republicans controlled.

From Cincinnati, Longworth sent a jocular query to Garner.

"Whose car is it?"

During the winter session of Congress they continued to joke about who would get possession of the Speaker's automobile. It was still a moot question on March 4, when Congress adjourned until December.

At the adjournment hour, Speaker Longworth addressed Congress for the last time. The members arose in a great demonstration for the presiding officer. Longworth said:

"Perhaps this is the last time I will address you from this rostrum. I do not mean to insinuate that I regard it as a probability, but I must admit it as a possibility. The decision lies with none of us here. It is a decision that lies with an All-Wise Providence. It is only an All-Wise Providence who is going to determine which of the great political parties will organize the next House of Representatives.

"With whatever Providence may decree, I am abundantly satisfied. I ought to be, for but three Speakers of the House in all history will have had a longer term of consecutive service than I have had. I have esteemed every hour here during my service of six years, without one single exception. If I am to retire from office, I do so with profound gratitude to my colleagues, not so much for elevating me to this, the greatest legislative office in any legislative branch in any government of the world, but more for the evidence of esteem and confidence you have had in me."

Longworth, although suffering from a severe cold, took part in the vaudeville performance on the floor of the House after adjournment. A piano was brought in and the entertainment lasted for an hour.

It was brought to a close with Representative Clifton Woodrum of Virginia singing "Carry Me Back to Ole Virginny," with Longworth playing the piano accompaniment.

When Longworth's cold hung on he went to Aiken, South Carolina, in an effort to recover from it. On April 6, he took to bed. Three days later he was dead of lobar pneumonia.

At Uvalde, Garner, his chief political foe and most intimate personal friend, said:

"I have lost one of the best friends of a lifetime. I knew him as a man and as a legislator and he was the best type of each. His statesmanship was of the highest order. He was honest and courageous and loved his country."

Mr. Speaker

JOHNNY, Washington wants you on the telephone."

The messenger was Ross Brumfield, the only man who ever called the future Speaker and Vice-President "Johnny."

It was a peaceful afternoon in Uvalde in October 1931. Garner was examining his chuck box; he was preparing to leave on a fishing trip with Brumfield. They had been outdoor companions for twenty years. Whatever the season of the year when Garner got home from a session of Congress he and Brumfield made an excursion to the wild brush country near the Mexican border. On these outings Garner was the camp cook. He prided himself on his culinary accomplishments even more than on his fishing prowess. "Cowboy stew" was his specialty and he was painstakingly examining the contents of the chuck box to see that he had all the ingredients of his favorite camping dish.

Garner wanted especially to take this camping trip. He couldn't leave on the last train that would get him to Washington before Congress convened as he had usually done. There had been fourteen deaths of Representatives since the last election, an unusually large number. Garner would either beat Representative Bertrand H. Snell for Speaker or if Snell won, Garner would lead a minority of almost equal size to Snell's majority. Special elections would decide which way it would be. If chosen Speaker, he would be the highest elected Democrat in the nation and the field marshal of his party's legislative forces. The depression was nearly two years old and deepening. He would have to go to Washington early this time.

Garner never liked to talk on the telephone. Long-distance calls, especially, he never accepted when he could avoid it.

Another messenger came with more definite information. President Hoover was on the wire.

Hoover's voice was grave. For days he had been talking to long-faced plenipotentiaries. England, France, Italy and other Allied debtors were seeking postponement on the interest charges on their war and reconstruction debts to the United States. They had told the President of dire things that would happen to their countries if forced to make these interest payments. In fact, they said, they just couldn't make them.

Hoover was convinced that a moratorium was necessary—that the interest would have to be waived for a time at least. He asked Garner if he could be in Washington for a meeting of Congress leaders and other high officials the following night. Garner could if an airplane was available. Hoover told him one would be dispatched to Kelly Field at San Antonio.

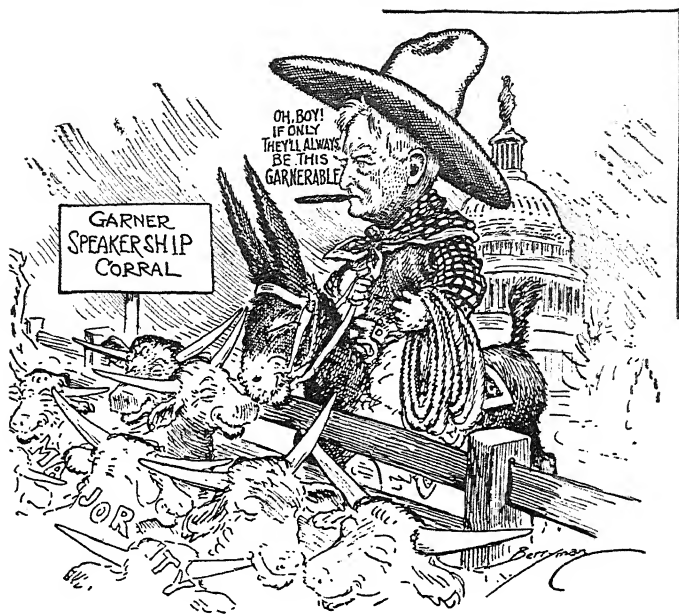
Garner went back and told Brumfield to unpack the camping outfit. Early the next morning he entered an open-cockpit two-man plane at Kelly Field and that evening was in Washington. It was his first airplane flight. He arrived beaming. A dozen newspapermen met him at the Washington airport. He was the key man in whatever negotiation took place at the White House. He was the nation's top Democrat now and he had a united party in the House of Representatives behind him. Hoover was the top Republican and his party was divided.

Garner stepped from the plane. He would answer no questions. He was going to make no premature statement. As he parried questions he accidentally pulled from his pocket a piece of paper. It was a note Mrs. Garner had put there without his knowledge. It read:

"The spirit of the Lord watches over you and keeps you in perfect safety. His Spirit is guiding, protecting and inspiring you in all your ways."

Garner went to the White House for what might be the most momentous decision for his country, his party and himself he had ever had to make. The President, worn and tired, did his best to smile. Month after month the worries of the depression had added years to his face.

Hoover made a stout argument for a moratorium. He felt that depressed world conditions made this inevitable. Garner took issue with the Chief Executive. Garner had sat in the Ways and Means Committee when the recommendations came in from the Debt Commission,



When the votes were rounded up in the 1931 Speakership contest there were three more Democrats than Republicans and Garner was elected Speaker. (C. K. Berryman, *Washington Star*)

scaling down the foreign debts. He had voted against every one of these proposals. Especially did he oppose the English and French refunding schemes because he believed these countries had the ability to pay. A moratorium he regarded as likely to be an effective cancellation. Hoover was adamant. All the Republican leaders stood with Hoover, except Senator Borah, chairman of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee. He teamed with Garner. Secretary of State Stimson, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon and Under Secretary Ogden Mills backed up Hoover strongly. In the end, Garner said that if the Democrats should organize the House and he became Speaker, he would not oppose the foreign policy of the Administration. Since unable to convince, he would not obstruct.

Conditions with worldwide depression and its multitudinous ills, he felt, challenged more than Republican and Democratic principles; they went to the foundations of representative government. Hoover had two more years of his constitutional term to serve. Even if the Democrats organized the House, the Senate was still Republican. Never in peacetime had the nation faced a crisis that demanded more nonpartisan and patriotic action.

Garner returned to Texas for a very short stay. He never made the fishing trip. Instead, he sat down and attempted something he had never before tried. He started writing a speech. In all his career Garner's House speeches had been extemporaneous. He believed at the time that the Democrats would barely fail to organize the House, that the Republicans would control it and that he would be minority leader.

Garner arrived in Washington on November 11 and in an interview stressed the necessity of maintaining the financial integrity of the country. The Speakership was still unsettled. Representative Harry M. Wurzbach, the only Republican member of Congress from Texas, was among those who had died. The district had gone Republican six straight times. On the outcome in this district probably hung the Speakership. In the special election late in November, Richard M. Kleberg, a Democrat, won. The Speakership for Garner now seemed certain.

On December 7, 1931, Garner was elected the thirty-ninth Speaker of the House of Representatives by three votes. One of his majority came into the House chamber on a stretcher. Two more came in wheelchairs. Never in modern times had there been so close a division between the two parties in the House. If one or two members stayed away or a Tammany Congressman took too long a week end, Garner had no physical majority present on the floor.

Representative Snell, his defeated opponent, introduced Garner to the House.

"The gentleman from Texas," Snell said, "by native ability, by outstanding personality, by long service and a complete understanding of the duties and responsibilities, is exceptionally well qualified to fill that position and I predict he will make one of the great Speakers of the generation. I congratulate him on having reached the goal of his ambition."

Garner, replying, after expressing his thanks for the support given him, said:

"It is customary for a member assuming this place to indulge in some promises as to what he hopes to do as your presiding officer. I made no promises to secure this preferment, and I make none now.

"The oath of office I am about to take carries with it the only promise it is necessary for any American citizen to make, to assure the country that he expects to devote his best efforts to its service. That oath of office I am ready to take at the present moment and I ask the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Pou, to administer it."

Democrats flocked to the Capitol to congratulate Garner on his election as Speaker. It was the first time in ten years the Democrats had controlled any branch of government.

One incident of the day revealed how little any of us realized what was ahead of the world. Representative Kleberg of Texas was sitting in the Speaker's outer office when I came in. He was reading a syndicated article written and signed by Adolf Hitler, in *The New York Times*.

On it was the headline:

CONSTRUCTIVE RULE PLEDGED BY HITLER.

FIRE WORKS NOT TO BE EXPECTED, SAYS GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST OF HIS PROGRAM.

Kleberg casually remarked:

"I wonder what this fellow is going to do?"

After the organization of the House, Garner still faced the necessity of keeping a quorum. Tammany and other city Democrats always took a long week end. A late train could be fatal to a roll call. Monday morning was the dangerous time. If Snell should attempt some sort of a coup with the majority of the New York delegation away, it would sink the Democrats. Tammany Leader Curry promised to keep the New Yorkers on the job. There were negotiations with the Pennsylvania Railroad and it put on a special Monday morning train, the *Legislator*. It ran only one day a week and it got to Washington well before the noon meeting hour of Congress. Members of Congress and week-end visitors returning from New York made it pay.

There was still the risk that the Democrats could fail to keep a physical majority on the floor. Garner was up against the greatest test

of his lifetime, to keep that slim superiority control of the House and put through legislation. It required all his trading ability. It was a day by day intricate process of compromising and balancing force against force to maintain a lead in the House.

Garner formed an alliance with Representative Fiorello H. La Guardia on some legislative matters. The man who was afterward to be three times Mayor of New York supported most of Garner's legislative proposals from 1931 to 1933. Garner either could not pronounce or could not remember La Guardia's first name. To La Guardia's great amusement Garner called him "Frijole," Mexican name for bean.

"Frijole had about fifteen votes in his group," Garner said. "He never made a promise he couldn't keep. He never overestimated the number of votes he could deliver on a roll call. I always knew just how many votes he would bring in."

Thus reinforced, he went into the 222-day session of Congress which authorized the government's great credit machine, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, budget balancing and other controversial legislation.

Garner took the majority leadership to the Speaker's chair with him, although the title went to Representative Henry T. Rainey. Rainey possessed none of the qualities of leadership. In addition, he was "loose-jawed." He gave out a particularly unwise statement on taxes and Garner found it necessary to tell the country Rainey was speaking only for himself and not the party.

Garner himself was more cautious of utterance than Calvin Coolidge had ever been. Longworth had never had press conferences. Garner met the press punctually at eleven forty-five. But he gave out no premature information. He would not mislead the press. When they asked him a question he did not want to answer he would say:

"You can speculate all you want to. I have nothing to say."

Sometimes the Garner conferences were very lively affairs. Once when he was vigorously explaining a legislative matter and trying to light his ever present cigar at the same time, his hair caught on fire and a newsman extinguished it.

He recreated the Board of Education but it was a Democratic show now, although Bert Snell came in regularly. But usually those who

gathered there were Collier, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and Crisp, second man on the committee; Bankhead and McDuffie of Alabama; Byrns of Tennessee; Warren of North Carolina; Milligan of Missouri; Woodrum of Virginia; Prall of New York; and Rayburn of Texas.

President Hoover believed that the program which he had outlined would thaw frozen assets, expand credit and start money circulating. The President attempted part of this through co-operation between the Federal Reserve Board and large banks. In addition, Hoover proposed the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the increase of capital to the Federal Land banks, to provide more money to loan to farmers and additional rediscount authority for the Federal Reserve banks.

Garner's biggest task was keeping his own party together. A party that has been for a long time in the minority and schooled in the critical opposition tactics of an anti-Administration force is not easily converted into a responsible working unit, willing to take a unified stand on legislation and accept the blame for it if it fails.

Garner well knew that the ten years the Democrats had spent in harassing the Republicans in the House had developed sloppy party habits. Failure to show up for roll calls was only one of them. Each Democrat had voted in the way best calculated to help his standing with his constituents. They faced a situation now where if they were to succeed they must vote as a unit.

"It's hard to get these roosters to realize they can't any longer strut around and crow when they feel like it," he said.

In the Board of Education, in the cloakrooms and in the Speaker's lobby, Garner used all his persuasive power.

"You are at the controls," he told them. "You must remember that you are in command and are no longer the minority party."

Garner had had more experience in harassing the Republicans than any Democrat in the House. Had it been a time of prosperity, the temptation to make life miserable for the opposition would not now have been distasteful to him. The Democrats could have blocked legislation, forced compromises, obtained concessions. But this was no time for partisan antics.

Garner had made up his mind to support the Hoover relief program.

It was, he felt, the only patriotic course open. He felt, however, that it was inadequate to meet the situation. The legislation which Hoover proposed was put through the House of Representatives with a speed that amazed the White House.

To the moratorium on European debts, Garner had Ragon of Arkansas attach an amendment setting out that approval of the moratorium could not be construed as a cancellation of the debts.

Garner called in Byrns of Tennessee, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

"Now, Joe," he told the tall Tennessean, "don't increase a single solitary item in the Hoover budget. We are not going to sink the Treasury further into debt."

He told Byrns and Collier:

"If there have to be huge appropriations or bond issues for federal relief they must carry taxes to amortize them."

The Democrats put through one measure of their own, a bill to have the Tariff Commission report to Congress, instead of the President, such changes it deemed advisable under the reciprocal clauses of the tariff act. This would have placed on Congress the duty of making such changes effective.

Garner predicted Hoover would veto it. This the President promptly did. Garner never called it up again. There was no need wasting time.

Garner's management of his party and of legislation brought him much praise. He got credit for tact and a sense of humor. Some little things which he thought perfectly natural and hardly worth notice added to his popularity.

He gave up the Speaker's automobile, partly because he felt he had very little use for it anyway and partly to set an example of government economy. When he was asked at a press conference if he did not think the dignity lent by an official car was worth the small cost, Garner replied:

"It doesn't take an automobile to make the office dignified. I'll lend the dignity."

Sometimes Mr. and Mrs. Garner walked to the Capitol, sometimes they went by taxi and sometimes the Speaker rode home in the rumble-seat of his Secretary's automobile. He and Mrs. Garner went in a taxi-

cab to the dinner which President and Mrs. Hoover gave for the Speaker and Mrs. Garner.

The Speakership brought additional mail to Garner. It swamped Mrs. Garner and the extra clerical force that went with the office. As the depression grew worse the Speaker's mail ran as high as 3,500 letters a day.

Garner knew his honeymoon would be short. He told me:

"I'll be criticized for following Hoover and not offering a program of our own and I'll be accused of sabotaging Hoover. I'm not going to let it bother me. I've got skin as thick as cowhide."

Some Democrats were continuously asking him to break the truce with the White House.

When press criticism began, Garner read, without seemingly being disturbed, editorials that attacked him and cartoons which ridiculed him. Usually he would write to the cartoonist for an autographed copy of the cartoon.

He said in an interview:

"I astonished people here in Washington once by saying I was for the welfare of the country first and that of the Democratic party second. They didn't think I was like that, but I am. I am still that way, and it's somewhat like accusing a man of treason to say to him, in times like these, that he would try to block any constructive measure simply because it comes from the other side of the political fence.

"This is election year and I know of some things we could do from which we could derive some political advantage. But, as I see it, politics is now a secondary condition. The welfare of the country is of more importance than electoral votes for my party."

In February, Garner was irked by speeches of Cabinet members taking full credit for the Republicans for all legislation. He thought President Hoover should have rebuked them and should even have called to the attention of the country the fact that the Democrats were co-operating.

No such statement was made.

Just before Washington's Birthday the House put through the Federal Reserve credit bill, the last of the Hoover emergency relief measures the Democrats had promised to support, and Garner issued a fiery statement.

"Co-operation between the two great political parties in effecting emergency legislation is a fine thing," he said. "When such issues as now confront the country are up is no time for partisan politics. But co-operation does not mean that one party to it shall claim the right to have everything it asks enacted into law, to the exclusion of what the other party deems necessary for the public welfare.

"The Democrats of the Senate and House have sought in every way to clear the track for measures calculated to relieve the public distress, and particularly to effect such savings in the cost of government as may make it possible to balance the budget, with the minimum hardship involved in increased taxes.

"Our course has met with approbation all over the country—in fact, nobody has ventured to criticize us with the exception of the Administration which appears to regard it as a requisite not only that the Democrats shall sign on the dotted line, but insists that the Administration should have credit for whatever is accomplished.

"Obviously the Democratic majority of the House subscribes to no such interpretation of its duty. If we are going to be partners in the enterprise of redeeming prosperity, in reducing the distress of the depression, in effecting economies in government, in formulating measures adequate to produce the revenue the government requires, we must be full partners, taking our full share of responsibilities and participating in whatever benefits accrue—political or otherwise."

The Democrats were ready to make some moves of their own, but Garner was silent on his plans.

"A lot of chatter in the newspapers isn't getting helpful legislation," he said.

On February 16, Garner formed a Democratic Economy Committee, headed by Representative John McDuffie of Alabama, and told it to search for every way possible to cut government costs. Secretary of the Treasury Mills went to the Capitol and told Garner that there would be a Treasury deficit of \$1,320,000,000 instead of the \$920,000,000 originally estimated.

The Ways and Means Committee was already struggling with the problem. Here Garner suffered a blow. Chairman Collier of the Ways and Means Committee had a break in his health and was ordered out of Washington for a long rest. He never recovered. Able Representa-

tive Crisp, second man on the committee, thus was given double work.

Every proposal for any kind of a new tax brought a protest from somewhere. Crisp went to Garner and told him that in his estimation there was just one way to raise the added revenue and that was a manufacturers' sales tax. Crisp's sincere presentation convinced Garner. Despite his dislike of the sales tax, the Speaker told Crisp to go ahead. The three months of tranquillity among Democrats was about to come to an end.

On February 22, the House gave Garner another of the spontaneous tributes of affection it was always giving him. President Hoover had addressed a joint session of Congress in celebration of George Washington's birthday. After the President had left and the Speaker rose to adjourn the House, someone hollered:

"Hurrah for Jack Garner."

The entire House got on its feet and cheered for several minutes.

Three weeks later Garner had lost control of the House. When Crisp brought in the tax bill with the sales-tax feature, the revolt was on. Most of the Democrats, led by Representative Doughton of North Carolina, refused to go along. They were joined by La Guardia of New York.

When the debate was at its bitterest stage, Mr. Garner called me one morning at seven o'clock and asked me to come to the Capitol and discuss with him a poll he had heard I had made of the twenty-one-man Texas delegation on the sales tax. I told him that one or two of the Texans would vote for the tax, one or two were on the fence and the rest opposed and that I doubted anything he could do or say would change the situation. He remarked:

"Well, if I can't take Texas along on this I don't know what I can say to members from other states."

By midday that day, the stampede was on. There was no way but to let it run its course.

On March 18, he issued a statement to newspapers in which he said:

"There never was and there never can be a perfect tax bill. There never was and there never can be a tax bill pleasing to everyone or, indeed, entirely pleasing to anyone. The supreme purpose of the impending tax bill is to enable the government to balance the budget. As the surest, soundest and most effective means to this vital end, the

sales-tax plan was adopted after prolonged and exhaustive discussion.

"If we permit the securities of the government to be impaired, all securities will be relatively impaired. If the people lack confidence in the financial stability of their government, they will lack confidence in all forms of corporate and individual enterprise.

"It is, therefore, of the highest importance that the budget should be balanced in order that the financial integrity of the nation shall be preserved. That is the goal that must be reached.

"The emergency that confronts us is no ordinary one. It calls for the sacrifice of individual theories to the paramount duty of rescuing the national government from a condition which must be corrected before there can be recovery from the existing depression. Theory must yield to national necessity.

"No man can call himself a patriot who, in the face of so overwhelming a crisis, can give heed to his individual fortunes or to the viewpoint of particular groups or sections. The general interest of the country, as a whole, will be a safe guide to our feet in this vital matter.

"As for myself, I say now if the need be, I am ready to yield temporarily every economic opinion I have ever had to reach that goal—the financial salvation of my country.

"Knowing as I do the high character of the membership of this Congress, Republican as well as Democrat, I do not for a moment doubt the goal will be reached."

But the House was completely out of hand. The bill was in process of being torn to pieces, with \$500,000,000 in revenue sliced off. Bond prices and government security prices began to slip.

On March 29, Garner went to the Speaker's chair wearing a sombre business suit instead of the formal day attire he usually wore. At the end of the chaplain's prayer he called Representative William B. Bankhead of Alabama to the chair and stepped down from the rostrum.

The Speaker looked worn and tired.

"For one of the few times in his life he had not been sleeping well for nights," Mrs. Garner said.

Garner stood for a few moments talking to Representative Lewis W. Douglas of Arizona. Then as the reading of the House Journal was completed he walked to the well of the House and made the formal

motion to "strike out the last word." He was employing a hundred-year-old device used by members to obtain the floor when the House is sitting as a Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, considering amendments to a bill.

Garner intended to address the House as a Representative from Texas, and not as its Speaker. But instantly Crisp was on his feet asking unanimous consent that the Speaker have such time as he needed.

Garner stood calmly in the well of the House, an arm resting on a reading stand.

The House shouted unanimous approval of Crisp's motion. It sensed one of those big moments that come only occasionally to parliamentary bodies.

The crowd in the jammed galleries leaned forward. Mrs. Garner came up from the floor below and, finding her seat occupied, took a seat on the floor of the gallery aisle. Senators rushed over from the other end of the Capitol and squeezed in wherever they could.

Garner began to speak in a low, earnest, conversational tone.

"When I was elected Speaker of this House," he said, "it was my purpose then, and it has been my purpose all along, and it shall be my purpose in the future, to preside over the House of Representatives as impartially and fairly as my intellect will permit."

Applause broke the tenseness. Garner drank from a glass of water on the table beside him. He was as calm as if discussing a minor bill. He continued:

"In order to do that I felt it would be better if I did not enter into general debate for fear it might become partisan, and, therefore, I have refrained up to this time from taking the floor on any subject. But in view of the fact that I had served eighteen years on the Ways and Means Committee, had acquired some knowledge of taxation, it was felt by some of my colleagues on that committee that I owed a duty to the House to make some statement concerning the tax situation. Yielding to that, I appear before you this morning to make what I conceive to be a statement as to the duty and right of each member of the House from my viewpoint.

"In October, the President of the United States requested certain members of Congress to come to Washington to consider certain ques-

tions that he had in view to recommend to the Congress of the United States, when it met.

"While here in Washington, there was a very grave doubt in the minds of certain officials and members of the Administration whether there would be a tax bill at the coming session. After ascertaining this, I returned to my home and for the first time in my life undertook to prepare an address to the House of Representatives, believing that the Republicans would organize the House and that my Democratic colleagues might elect me leader.

"I believed then as I do now, that it was the duty of our government to sustain its credit and to ask Congress to balance the budget."

Again the House applauded.

Without a trace of emotion the high-pitched voice of the Speaker went on:

"That speech will never be delivered because I was not selected as minority leader, but happened to become the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"I arrived here on the 11th of November, before the Congress met. The newspapermen gathered in my office at that time, when it looked as if the Democrats would organize the House and whatever I might say might be interesting to the country. The first interview I gave was to impress upon them—and, I hope, to impress upon the country and my colleagues—the importance of maintaining the financial integrity of the Republic. I have from that time until this repeatedly, before Congress met and before I was elected Speaker, maintained that the highest possible duty that the House of Representatives could perform for the people of the country during this session was to levy sufficient taxes to sustain the financial integrity of the Republic.

"It was suggested by some of my colleagues, both in the Senate and in the House, that it might be advisable from a party standpoint and of the service to the country that the Democrats of the House and the Senate get together and, so far as they could, outline a program or policy which we thought would be to the best interests of the country. In pursuance of that thought, Senator Robinson, leader of the Democrats in the Senate, and myself selected what is known as the Policy Committee. It was composed of ten members of the Senate and ten members of the House. . . . That committee from time

to time had meetings in my office for the purpose of discussing what was the best interest of the country as well as the best interest of the Democratic organization of the House and Senate. On January 6, of this year, after a two-hour session and a full discussion, that joint committee unanimously decided upon this language as expressing what should be the Democratic policy of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

“It is of primary importance that the budget be balanced promptly.”

“As I say, that was unanimously adopted by the Policy Committee. I believed then, and I believe now, that the paramount duty of the House of Representatives is to levy sufficient taxes of some kind, of some nature, that will sustain the credit of this country in the eyes of the world, as well as our own people. Later on the Ways and Means Committee went to work with a view of bringing about that desired end. . . .

“It was decided that the better policy would be to prepare a non-partisan tax bill and present it to the House. In view of the fact that the Democratic majority is small, we felt it would be difficult, if not impossible, to pass in the House a partisan bill. In addition to that, in the hearts of these men and in their conversations, they thought it was the more patriotic thing to take into our confidence the entire membership of the House in undertaking to pass this important piece of legislation. . . .

“I mention the background to this, Mr. Chairman, and my Democratic friends especially, to meet some criticisms that have been directed at me for advocating the policy of levying sufficient taxes to sustain the credit of the government. In view of that background, I think I had a right to ask the House, and especially the Democrats, to join with us in an effort to levy sufficient taxes to take care of the obligations made by the Congress of the United States. The Committee on Ways and Means went about its work in executive session and reported a bill to the House. In the course of those executive sessions I was told, and I think the membership of the House was told, that the committee believed it impossible to find sufficient taxes which it thought the House would indorse to balance the budget, unless it went to a manufacturers’ tax. My reply to that was that I have been opposed to a sales tax ever since I had been a member of Congress, and I had

always, and always would be opposed to a sales tax. I am now opposed to a sales tax; but, gentlemen, if I find it impossible to balance this budget and restore the confidence of the world and our own people in our government without some such tax I would levy any tax, sales or any other kind, in order to do that. I think more of my country than I do of any theory of taxation that I may have, and the country at this time is in a condition where the worst taxes you could possibly levy would be better than no taxes at all.

"The Committee of the Whole House acted otherwise. I have no quarrel with you. I have said on the floor of this house scores and scores of times, and I repeat it now, that I do not believe in rules being applied to the House of Representatives that take away from it the freedom of expression not only of your voice but of your vote. I believe in freedom of expression; therefore I was unwilling to have any gag rule, so called, applied to the consideration of this bill. I wanted the members to have free opportunity to express themselves in the Committee of the Whole, and you have had that opportunity. You have expressed yourselves; you have arrived at a conclusion that you will not have a sales tax; and, I repeat, I have no quarrel with you because of it.

"I appeal to you, not only in the name of my party but my country, that in view of the fact that there has been stricken from this bill more than \$500,000,000 of taxation, it is your duty, your paramount duty, to help this House and this committee restore some taxes to this bill in order that this country's financial integrity may be maintained.

"My only object in taking the floor was to make that one appeal. Last Saturday, as well as yesterday, the people of the world realized that Congress, in a gesture, had indicated that it did not intend to balance this budget. What was the result, not only among American people but among the peoples of the world?

"As reflected through the New York stock exchange and other exchanges of this country, what did we find? We found the foreigner selling the dollar. We found our exchange going down more than it has at any time in the past twelve years. We found it renewed yesterday, and we found that followed by a sharp reduction in U.S. securities. What does that mean? It simply means that the one billion, eight hundred million dollars of money belonging to foreigners who have

come to us with the idea that this flag not only protected the person but protected property and who put their credits in the banks of our country, because they thought that was the safest place on the face of the earth to deposit their wealth, have transferred their gold to foreign vaults. When they heard around the world that there was some doubt about this Congress balancing the budget, they immediately began to withdraw their wealth, to sell American exchange and transfer their gold to foreign vaults. As sure as I stand in the well of this House, I believe that if this Congress today should decline to levy a tax bill there would not be a bank in existence in the United States in sixty days that could meet its depositors. I believe that the shock to the nation, the shock to the foreigner who is doing business with us would be such that there would be a financial panic such as has never been equaled in this Republic since its organization."

The House again applauded the florid-faced Texan, who in a kindly manner was speaking to men with whom he had long had affectionate association.

"This committee will bring in a program. I hope you will support it. I do not want all the taxes that are in there. You cannot get just the taxes you want. This committee is composed of twenty-four men from twenty-four different states. I believe you will admit they are fairly intelligent. They are patriotic. They want to serve the country. They want to serve you. They would like to bring in an ideal bill that could be voted for by every member of this House, but it impossible to do it.

"So I appeal to you that if you do not like the taxes which the committee reports, will you not be good enough, will you not have statesmanship enough when you criticize it and ask to strike it out, will you not have the manhood to substitute something in its place?"

The greatest applause of his speech greeted him here. Suddenly he said, as the cheering died out:

"At the risk of being criticized, I want to give to the world and to the country today, if I can, an expression of this House, so that the world and the country may realize we are going to balance the budget. Mr. Chairman, may I do an unusual thing? I may be criticized for it, but I want every man and every woman in this House who hopes to balance the budget and who is willing to go along with that effort to try to balance the budget, to rise in his seat."

Almost the entire membership of the House rose.

His face flushed, Garner then asked:

"Now, if they do not mind, those who do not want to balance the budget can rise in their seats."

As none rose, he added:

"I think this ought to restore to the American people confidence in our country.

"We may have differences among ourselves, but in our hearts we are patriotic. We want to serve this Republic. This is a sensible Congress and we can get sensible results.

"I again want to ask the charity of the House, and I am going to say to the membership that, with their permission, for the balance of the consideration of this bill, I hope to participate in it.

"I said to the gentlemen of the Ways and Means Committee yesterday that I would not consider it any reflection on me or on my honor, or integrity, or desire to serve the nation if the committee disagreed with me about some of the taxes. That is a privilege. It is not only a privilege but it is the duty of the members to express themselves.

"I am an organization Democrat. I never in my life cast a vote against my own judgment except when I had to go along with the Democratic organization. I have done that and I will do it again. You must have organization. We have it through committees, and it is the only way we can function in this House.

"Let me say to the Republican side that during the consideration of this bill, while some remarks have been made by men in high authority on the outside that ought not to have been made, the membership in this House on the Republican side has been quite decent.

"I am willing to pay them that encomium because they are entitled to it.

"Gentlemen, I just wanted to say these few words to you. Let me say to the Democrats alone, do not become critical, do not throw brickbats, let us be brotherly so far as we can. If one of us should disagree do not point your finger at him and say he is not a Democrat. That is not the thing to do and it is not helpful. I pray you on this side to be in a good humor so far as you can. You are here to serve our country; and, gentlemen, let us get through this legislation at the earliest date possible in the interest of our country."

"JACK" GARNER BRINGS RELIEF.!



Garner's election as Speaker in 1931 made him the highest ranking Democrat in the nation. (Baer, Labor)

Garner had made the speech of his life, restored his leadership and brought the House back to order. Backwoods evangelism had triumphed.

Snell got recognition and promised to back up the committee. La Guardia, who had been one of the most devastating of the wreckers, told the House he would "stand by the committee and their recommendations." He stayed by his agreement but he told the House in another speech: "I am getting it going and coming in my district."

Crisp outlined a new program. House and Senate passed a budget-balancing program.

The next test came when Garner brought in a relief bill of his own. The major item in the Hoover program had been the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Garner said the R.F.C. was doing good work as far as it went, but it needed its activities enlarged and still other measures were necessary to fight the depression.

Employment conditions were becoming worse. Garner by early May had become convinced that the Hoover administration's relief measures were inadequate. He drew up a public-works bill of his own. He took all the recommendations for federal works, such as public buildings, rivers and harbors projects and other approved proposals, and lumped them into one big bill.

Each one of these proposals had been sent to the Capitol with the endorsement of the Hoover or Coolidge administration. Garner felt that if work were started on them at that time it would provide a means of absorbing the unemployed and give an impetus to the heavy industries which would supply the materials. He figured up the total cost of the projects and then estimated the rate tax which it would be necessary to place on gasoline to amortize the cost.

Then Garner called a dozen House Democratic leaders together. In the conference room were Majority Leader Rainey, Appropriations Chairman Joseph W. Byrns and Representatives Warren of North Carolina; McDuffie of Alabama; Woodrum of Virginia; Collier of Mississippi; Crisp of Georgia; Rayburn of Texas; Bankhead of Alabama; and Sullivan of New York.

He asked each for his candid opinion, walking around the room and standing in front of each one as the answers were given. McDuffie and Warren, two of Garner's closest and most devoted friends, said they were not in favor of the proposition. Byrns said he couldn't quite make up his mind about it. The others were all for it. Garner smiled as he summarized the results of the conference.

"There's Mr. Byrns, he is not quite sure on the matter yet. McDuffie and Warren are against it. But we'll take care of McDuffie and Warren. We'll call a caucus. Gentlemen, if a majority of you had been opposed to this bill, I would not present it. But now I am determined to do so."

At the caucus Garner gave everybody a chance to say he didn't want to be bound. Nobody accepted this opportunity.

The measure provided that the money should be expended as follows:

1: One billion, two hundred nine million for a public-works program to be expended on public buildings, mostly post offices, and highways, waterways and flood control projects.

2: A billion-dollar increase in the capitalization of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to enable it to make loans to states, cities and towns for public works.

3: One hundred million dollars to be expended at the discretion of the President.

It levied a tax of a third a cent a gallon on gasoline to pay for it.

President Hoover denounced the bill as the greatest pork-barrel measure ever devised. It passed the House and Senate, but the President vetoed it. A substitute measure embodying much of it, however, was passed and became law.

The political truce was now at an end.

The two major parties were near the national conventions which would nominate their 1932 standard bearers.

Kangaroo Ticket

AS FAR as I know the first mention of John N. Garner as the possible 1932 Democratic Presidential nominee was in my correspondence to Southwestern newspapers after the 1930 election, which had been so close that there was doubt as to whether the Republicans or Democrats would organize the House and whether Longworth or Garner would be Speaker. My mention was routine and not overly vociferous.

While only one Speaker of the House, James K. Polk, became President or even received the Presidential nomination while in that high parliamentary chair, every Speaker except the two foreign-born ones—Crisp and Henderson—has figured in Presidential speculation. So my dispatch merely chronicled that as leader of the minority or as Speaker, Garner was sure to be a contender for the Presidential nomination.

As far as I could tell, if Mr. Garner ever saw the dispatch at all, his reception of it was no more fervid than my report of his chances. He never even mentioned it to me.

Speaker Longworth had come back to preside over the short session. This was before the lame-duck amendment to the Constitution changing the annual meeting date of Congress.

In the Board of Education, Garner bantered Longworth:

"I want to be Speaker and pay you back for some of the gag rules you have put on me. It will be a great delight to sit in that chair and watch you squirming down there on the floor."

A day or two later, I mentioned to Garner that Texas, which was never famed for a paucity of state pride, was proud of his position in the party and undoubtedly there would be a movement in his behalf for the Presidential nomination.

He seemed uninterested. Instead he commented on the whacking gubernatorial sweep in New York. Roosevelt had barely nosed in as Governor in 1928, but in 1930 he had built up an unprecedented Democratic majority by carrying upstate counties in hitherto rock-ribbed Republican areas.

"I think the Democrats have a real political catch in this fellow Roosevelt," he said. "He looks like the man for us in 1932."

His own chances he dismissed with this statement:

"No Democrat from Texas is going to have availability for his party's Presidential nomination except under extraordinary circumstances."

I asked him how well he knew Roosevelt, who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson administration.

"I knew him hardly at all during the war," he said. "I knew a lot of fellows in the War Department, but we didn't have any naval bases on the Rio Grande and I had no dealing with anyone in the Navy except Secretary Daniels, with whom I talked about some appropriations."

After Roosevelt began to recover from his polio attack, Garner said, he frequently came through Washington going to and from Warm Springs. On these occasions he would stop at the Continental Hotel, a medium-priced hotel on Union Station Plaza. He would call Garner and Cordell Hull and, because Roosevelt was crippled and unable to get to the Capitol conveniently, Garner and Hull would go to the hotel and see him.

I asked what effect Roosevelt's physical condition might have on his availability.

"For the Presidency you run on a record and not on your legs," Garner replied. "If he makes a good record with the legislature at Albany this winter his kind of ailment won't hurt him as a candidate. It might help him."

After Longworth's death and Garner's election as Speaker, there was an occasional mention of the Texan as a Presidential eligible. It was, however, an editorial in the Hearst newspapers, written by William Randolph Hearst himself, which caused Garner to begin to get real recognition as a Presidential possibility.

Garner had no advance information that the Hearst editorial was

coming. He had not seen Hearst since they served together in Congress. From his standpoint it could hardly have come at a more inopportune time. He had a tiny but cohesive majority. He was putting through the Hoover relief program and the Democrats were determined to put in additional measures of their own if they regarded Administration measures insufficient.

Garner enjoyed his daily press conferences. He liked snappy questions and gave tart answers. But the one that day was not so pleasant. The first question was:

"What have you got to say about your Presidential candidacy?"

"I haven't got a word to say," he shot back.

He shut off further questioning with finality.

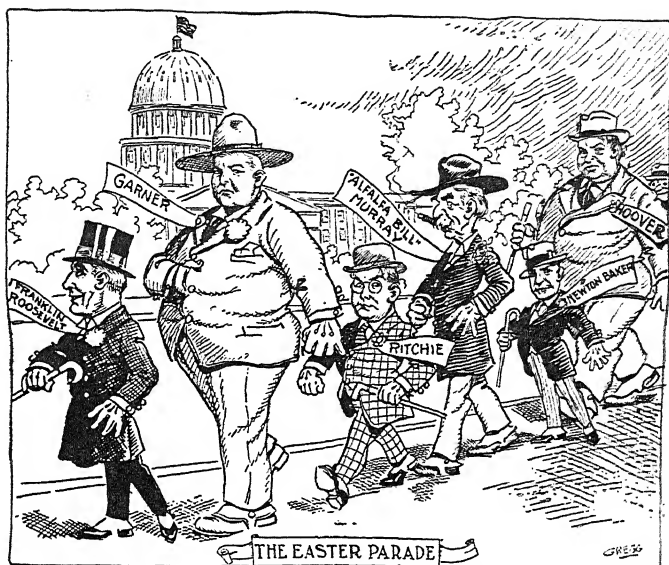
"I haven't a word to say. I am trying to attend to my business here. Now I'll talk about anything else you want to."

After the press conference I remained to discuss the situation about the long, prominently displayed editorial privately with him. He was worried and said further Presidential talk could do him and the party severe harm.

"I have been Speaker less than sixty days," he said. "I have got a tender majority of three. If I can stay close to the gavel I can get along all right. The biggest single bloc of votes in there is controlled by Tammany. It's more than a tenth of all the Democratic votes in the House. They have got a Roosevelt-Smith split among themselves already. Smith has got support among Congressmen from other states. The Maryland fellows are lined up for Ritchie. There are Roosevelt people in nearly all the delegations. I don't want to jeopardize our cohesion and the legislative program by a Presidential candidacy of my own."

The Hearst editorial and subsequent news-column comment, however, brought Garner many pledges of support. Letters poured in on him from former colleagues in Congress and many of the 1932 members of Congress offered him their aid. He refused it and said he was not a candidate.

But if Garner's interest in his own Presidential prospects was tepid, this was not true in Texas. By early February a whooping campaign was under way for the state's first son ever to sit in the Speaker's chair and who might go on to the White House.



A parade of 1932 Presidential candidates—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Garner, Governor Ritchie of Maryland, Governor Murray of Oklahoma, Newton D. Baker of Ohio and President Hoover. (Gregg, *Denver Post*)

Editorial discussion of Garner was widespread. The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* commented:

"In Garner the Democrats think they have found another 'Old Hickory.' Unquestionably there is a lot of tough, well-seasoned hickory in Garner's make-up, for few men in public life so thoroughly enjoy a fight as he does. But he has some other characteristics that Jackson lacked, for instance, tact and ability to co-operate.

"Jackson, in Garner's patience-trying position would have treated the country to a rare display of temper, bumped heads together, fought a duel or two and plunged the House in turmoil. Much as Garner loves fighting, common sense always tells him when to use salve instead of blows."

By February 1, it was evident to everyone that Governor Roosevelt might win the race by default. Other than Roosevelt only Governor

Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland was making any effort toward getting the nomination and Ritchie seemingly was making little headway.

On February 7, Alfred E. Smith came into the race in a statement in which he said:

"So many inquiries have come to me from friends throughout the country who worked for me and believed in me as to my attitude in the present political situation that I feel that I owe it to my friends and to the millions of men and women who supported me so loyally in 1928 to make my position clear.

"If the Democratic national convention, after careful consideration, should decide it wants me to lead I will make the fight, but I will not make a preconvention campaign to secure the support of delegates.

"By action of the Democratic national convention in 1928, I am the leader of my party in the nation. With a full sense of the responsibility thereby imposed, I shall not in advance of the convention either support or oppose the candidacy of any aspirant for the nomination."

To politicians there was no misreading the Smith announcement. He was gunning for Roosevelt, the man who succeeded him as Governor at Albany. Smith himself made no secret of the fact that he intended opposing Roosevelt "to the last heartbeat" at Chicago.

Smith's announcement slowed up the hitherto runaway campaign for Roosevelt. It meant that Roosevelt could never get a delegate from Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island or New Jersey and that two-thirds of the New York delegates would stand for Smith until the end.

Fresh impetus was given the Garner campaign when on February 17 the two Texas Senators, Morris Sheppard and Tom Connally, in a joint statement issued at the Capitol, announced that the name of John N. Garner would be presented formally to the Democratic national convention. In part they said:

"Without reflecting on any other Democrat whose name has been mentioned in connection with the Presidency, we have no hesitation in averring that John Garner by training and experience in national affairs and by his wide grasp of national problems is the most highly qualified of all those who are being mentioned as candidates in either the Republican or the Democratic parties. Texas presents him to the nation as a man grounded in the fundamentals of democracy, a rugged and militant champion of the American people."

To a newspaper which wrote to him asking his views on national questions, Garner replied:

"I have no intention of making a declaration with respect to any question with which Congress does not have immediate concern. I am not particularly interested as to how my determination in this respect will affect my political future. I am confronted with a task, a task involving greater responsibilities than have fallen to the lot of the Speakers since the World War, and my sole ambition is to discharge my duties in such manner that I may be helpful to the American people in relieving the distressed conditions they are experiencing."

Garner told Harry Sexton, a secretary in his office, to send the same letter to anyone who made a request for his views.

He showed irritation whenever the subject of the Presidency was mentioned to him. Once he said:

"I think you know me well enough to know that when I say anything I mean it. I am Speaker of the House and devoting my time to its duties. This is the first time the Democrats have controlled any branch of government for ten years. If we do not function properly between now and the Democratic national convention the Democratic Presidential nomination won't be worth two whoops in hell to anybody."

A few days later when he returned from a conference with President Hoover at the White House, he said:

"I always thought of the White House as a prison, but I never noticed until today how much the shiny latch on the Executive office door looks like the handle on a casket."

Garner was the best newspaper copy in Washington in those days. When he went with Mrs. Garner to the Speaker's Dinner given by President and Mrs. Hoover, it was the first time since Taft entertained Champ Clark that a President had given a dinner for a Speaker of the opposite political creed.

He almost forgot about it. Mrs. Garner telephoned from their hotel to a secretary:

"Get him by the ear, if necessary, and bring him down here." Garner was located in a policy conference in McDuffie's office.

Newspapers carried his picture entering the White House in a full dress suit, the first time he had ever been photographed so

garbed. Next day his colleagues at the Capitol called him "Society Jack."

One of the guests at the White House dinner was Henry Ford. Another was Melvin Traylor of Chicago, whom Garner thought likely to be the running mate of Franklin D. Roosevelt, if Roosevelt got the Presidential nomination as Garner thought he would.

The Garner Texas campaign was headed by Mayor C. M. Chambers of San Antonio. Chambers and Garner had been boys together in Red River County. A statewide convention at San Antonio of February 22 launched the Garner candidacy. Chambers stepped aside and the Texas committee chose Representative Sam Rayburn in his place. In accepting, Rayburn said:

"My interpretation of this action is that it named me only the national representative of the Texas committee and not a national campaign manager. Mr. Garner is not an active candidate for the Democratic nomination for President and, therefore, there is no national campaign manager."

Action on a front farther west quickly followed. A California group announced its intention to place Garner in the primary there against Alfred E. Smith, 1928 standard-bearer, and Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt.

William G. McAdoo, Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury, in Los Angeles declared for Garner:

"He is beyond the reach of those sinister and subtle influences which work unceasingly against the interests of the masses of the people. He will know how to use the executive power to promote the common good. Under Garner all elements of the party should be able to unite."

Garner's friends in Congress discussed the situation. They got no help from him. He would talk to no one about it.

"He growls like an old bear when you mention it," said Representative John McDuffie of Alabama. "If he is not interested, why should his friends be?"

But McDuffie and others of his friends kept busy anyway. They felt that a primary election victory in a doubtful state such as California would enhance his prestige in the House and raise his Presidential stock, but a poor showing would help neither. The discussion was an

academic one for the Californians entered his name anyway, with McAdoo heading the Garner slate.

The California primary came on May 4. Both the Roosevelt and Smith camps had placed great store on the outcome there. If Roosevelt carried it he would be less than fifty delegate votes short of the necessary two-thirds of all the delegates and it would make his first ballot nomination inevitable. The Smith forces depended on California to stop the triumphant Roosevelt march through conventions and primaries and felt it would furnish the setup for a successful "stop-Roosevelt" movement. They believed San Francisco, where Smith was prime favorite, would tip the scales for the Happy Warrior, but the next day astonished Democratic politicians read this Associated Press news story:

"California Democracy swept John N. Garner from the gallery of favorite sons in today's presidential primaries, giving him a sweeping victory over Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Alfred E. Smith in the contest for the state's 44 votes in the national convention.

"The final tabulations showed: Garner 211,913; Roosevelt 167,117; Smith 135,981."

Other than in Texas and California, no effort was made for Garner. He had discouraged every effort in his behalf. Thus, when the Chicago convention opened he had the ninety delegates from the two states, some second-choice support and a possibility of being the convention's compromise candidate for President. In hand, he had the Speakership.

A field of a dozen active or receptive candidates and favorite sons were expected to face the barrier at Chicago, but only four were believed to figure as the possible nominee. These were Governor Roosevelt, Speaker Garner, Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland and Newton D. Baker of Ohio, former Secretary of War.

Garner's friends believed the bitter division in New York helped Garner's chances, especially as the Texan had handily defeated Smith and Roosevelt in the California primary.

Before leaving for Chicago I called on Garner to talk the situation over. I was enthusiastic because I thought the Smith-Roosevelt split would give him a chance to run past both of them after a deadlock.

But Garner was still uninterested.

"I have no desire to be President," he said. "I am perfectly satisfied right here in the Speaker's office. "I worked twenty-six years to get to be Speaker. If we win this election I will have a comfortable majority to work with in the House. If we are on the political upswing as it looks, I will have a longer tenure as Speaker than any other man ever had.

"I have felt for several weeks that we have this election in our hands. But we had the same kind of situation in 1924. Public confidence is sometimes a delicate and fragile thing. It did not survive the rough handling we gave it by making a spectacle of ourselves in the Smith-McAdoo deadlock. It may not this time. An ugly situation can develop at Chicago."

Then he told me in confidence:

"I am not going to deadlock the convention against the leader. Roosevelt is the leader in delegates. He will have a majority, but not two-thirds. Al Smith will have around two hundred delegates and they will hold out until the last against Roosevelt. Ritchie will have some and they will be against Roosevelt all the way. Senator Lewis will not be a candidate and Cermak (mayor of Chicago, who later was killed by an assassin's bullet intended for Roosevelt, in Miami) will hide out his anti-Roosevelt votes behind Melvin Traylor."

I asked what he thought of Baker as a compromise if Roosevelt did not win on the first few ballots.

"Compromise candidates don't win Presidential elections," he replied. "Garfield was the last one who did, and he won in a very close popular vote. Harding was not really a dark horse. Controlling Republican leaders had him slated all the time and he had a nest egg of around 100 votes on the first ballot. Besides, Governor White controls the Ohio delegation, and I don't think he favors Baker. . . . Traylor is a banker and this is not a good year for bankers." (There was a run on Traylor's bank while the convention was on.)

"Roosevelt is both strong and weak. He seems to have practically no second-choice delegates. He has got just about a third of the New York delegates. Smith has the others, and nearly all from New England, New Jersey and half those from Pennsylvania. . . . The stop-Roosevelt men could, with a little help, deadlock the convention."

Naturally, Garner did not communicate his feelings to Governor

Roosevelt, James A. Farley or anyone else. If they had known his attitude they would have been spared many anxious hours in the days that followed. His plan was to watch events, be certain Roosevelt was the man the convention wanted, and that no better man would come to the top. But of one thing he was sure: as Speaker of the House and consequently the highest elected Democrat in the nation and presently the field marshal of the Democratic legislative forces, he was not going to be responsible for a shattering of those forces.

Representative Sam Rayburn was in complete charge of the Garner management at the Chicago convention. Assisting him was Silliman Evans, then a Texas newspaperman. Rayburn played his cards with skill, lined up with the "Allies," as the candidates opposing Roosevelt were called, and made no commitments to anyone.

As had been foreseen, the rule requiring two-thirds majority to nominate in Democratic conventions was the main block on the Roosevelt road, but there was nothing the New York governor could do about it. His attempt to change it brought such a protest that his managers dropped the effort. The rule was a one-hundred-year-old fixture in the party's procedure, and was supported strongly by the solid South because it gave those states a kind of veto power.

Garner personally was against the two-thirds rule.

"The power it gives the South is a negative one," he said. "If the South would stand up for its rights affirmatively, support a Southern man for President when that man is more competent than others instead of merely trying to veto there might be a time when capability rather than place of residence would be the test of availability."

Before the 1936 convention the South did surrender the great power the two-thirds rule gave it and subsequent nominations have been made by a majority. The most persistent fight for its abrogation was made by Senator Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, whose famous father was defeated by the rule, although he attained a majority at Baltimore in 1912.

The convention met on June 27. The galleries were packed with Smith rooters. The Cook County machine, under Cermak, had seen to that. Roosevelt's name was the first to go before the convention. When John E. Mack concluded the Roosevelt nominating speech,

delegates gave him a great demonstration, but the galleries hissed and booed.

Senator Tom Connally was given a respectful hearing as he nominated Garner as "a Democrat without prefix, suffix or qualifying phrase." A Texas band led a colorful parade. Mrs. Grace Hargreaves, daughter of William Jennings Bryan, carried the California banner and William Gibbs McAdoo held aloft the big California gold bear flag. Will Rogers and a group of Oklahoma delegates carried the Sooner State banner into the parade, although Oklahoma was instructed for Governor Murray. A few other state banners joined, more in friendship than in support.

It was not until Governor Joseph B. Ely of Massachusetts, in one of the most eloquent speeches ever heard in a national convention, nominated Alfred E. Smith that the galleries really let go with all they had.

Anti-Roosevelt groups attempted to adjourn at midnight following the oratorical Niagara that characterized the nominations and the seconding speeches, but the Roosevelt leaders insisted on a ballot. They polled a disappointing 666 votes on the first ballot, 102 short of the necessary two-thirds. At four o'clock in the morning another attempt to adjourn was beaten down by the Roosevelt men, who controlled the convention machinery as well as a majority of the delegates. The second ballot dragged on until sunrise, with delegation after delegation demanding that it be polled by the chair. Internal fighting within the delegations was intense. It was an angry, sweaty, fist-fighting session.

Delegates were asleep all over the place by the time the second ballot was completed. Tempers of those still awake were sharp. Some who went to the hotels to go to bed were brought back when there were demands that the delegations of which they were members be polled individually.

In a night packed with drama, the late James J. Walker, Mayor of New York, played the part which is vividly remembered by men and women who sat in the convention hall at Chicago.

Serious charges had been made against him as a result of the Seabury hearing and the case had been sent to Governor Roosevelt, who had the power to remove him from office.

Walker had left the hall under the impression that Tammany Leader John F. Curry, the chairman of the New York delegation, would cast the New York delegation's vote 65½ for Smith and 28½ for Roosevelt, but the Roosevelt following in the Empire State insisted on a showdown and Curry asked that the delegation be polled.

Walker, a delegate at large, did not answer to his name. A murmur ran over the hall. Was Walker, whose fate was in the hands of Roosevelt, ducking the roll call?

Just as daylight was streaming into convention hall, a small man, who had apparently been waked out of a sound sleep and dressed very hurriedly and had put on a coat without any shirt under it, came hurriedly to the New York section and standing beside his state standard demanded recognition.

Gray-haired, gray-mustached, austere Chairman Thomas J. Walsh, hoarse from a night of trying to make his voice carry through the din, faced the New York delegation, gavel pointing to the delegate, and asked sharply:

"Who is it that desires recognition?"

The diminutive delegate replied just as sharply:

"Walker, of New York."

No further identification was necessary, the convention hall was suddenly silent for the first time that night.

"The Mayor of New York is recognized," Walsh said in the hush.

"Mr. Chairman," Walker said, "I hear that in my absence an alternate voted on my name. May I ask the privilege of casting my vote myself at this time?"

"The delegate has that right. We will receive the delegate's vote now," Walsh responded.

"I desire that my vote be cast for Alfred E. Smith," Walker said in a clear, firm voice, setting off a wild demonstration in the galleries and even in the preponderantly Roosevelt delegate rows. (Later, Walker resigned the mayoralty.)

The third inconclusive ballot was finished about nine o'clock in the morning, a motion to adjourn was carried and the bleary-eyed weary delegates went to their rooms.

There was lightning in the air after that third ballot, but no one knew where it would strike. So it was with a common fear of disaster

that the leaders went off for a little rest, and a lot of scheming and trading.

"Governor Roosevelt is stopped!" declared former Senator James Reed of Missouri.

"The balloting suits me fine," said Al Smith.

On that third ballot the result had been Roosevelt 683; Smith 190; Garner 101; Governor White of Ohio 52; Melvin A. Traylor, Chicago banker, 40; Governor Ritchie of Maryland 28; Jim Reed 27; Harry F. Byrd 24; Newton D. Baker 8. To win, 770 votes were necessary.

Many Texans and others now believed that Garner had a real chance to be nominated. One of these was Will Rogers, who was covering the convention for a newspaper syndicate.

Rogers had something of the same relation with Speaker Garner that Mark Twain had had with Speaker Cannon. Twain, when in Washington, would take over Cannon's office and hold court; Rogers did the same with Garner's office.

Rogers thought the Democrats were sure to win the election. After Garner, his second choice was Owen D. Young. Rogers believed there was a possibility that Arizona and Arkansas would go to Garner on the fourth ballot.

Garner also had second-choice strength in Alabama, and Representative John McDuffie hoped to swing it to Garner on the fifth or sixth ballots. As Alabama, Arizona and Arkansas were the three states alphabetically at the top of the ballot, the three-way swing might have started a stampede for Garner. These states, with Mississippi, Minnesota, Iowa, New Mexico and North Carolina, were voting full strength under the unit rule—which did not allow a delegation to divide its votes—for Roosevelt. But there were strong minorities in each, fighting to break free and oppose the New York governor.

Representative Lindsay Warren of North Carolina, now Comptroller General of the United States, was one of the Roosevelt floor managers. Warren was convinced that if Roosevelt did not make it on the fourth ballot he was through. Warren's second choice was Garner and he canvassed his delegation in behalf of the Speaker.

Warren counted eighteen individual delegates as his pledges to Garner, but here he was stopped for a most unusual reason. Dr. Hugh Young, the famous surgeon of Johns Hopkins Hospital, was a member

of the Maryland delegation and working hard for Ritchie. Dr. Young was riding the North Carolina delegation ceaselessly and had eleven delegates lined up for Ritchie. The reason: Dr. Young had performed serious and successful operations on eleven of the North Carolina delegates.

"I think Garner would make a great President," gray-haired, distinguished Colonel T. M. Washington of the Tarheel State told Warren. "But I may have to go back to Johns Hopkins and if I did Doc Young might not admit me. He's that strong for Ritchie."

All that day Smith tried to reach Garner by telephone, but the Speaker would not take the call. The Smith men thought this an intentional snub, but Garner told me later it was not.

"I meant no discourtesy to Smith," he said. "I knew he was in a bitter, last-ditch fight in which I did not intend to take part. I decided it was best for me to talk only to Sam Rayburn, Amon Carter or some other members of the Texas delegation. There was no reason to talk to outsiders. If Roosevelt had called, I would not have taken that one, either."

Smith wanted to tell Garner that Texas and California furnished Roosevelt's only chance of nomination and that if Garner would hold on Roosevelt would shoot his bolt.

In Washington, Garner analyzed the three ballots, state by state, and called Rayburn in Chicago.

"Sam, I think it is time to break this thing up," he said. "Roosevelt is the choice of the convention. He has had a majority on three ballots. We don't want to be responsible for wrecking the party's chances. The nomination ought to be made on the next roll call."

Rayburn said he would canvass the situation and call back. He did, late in the afternoon.

"I do not remember exactly what Sam told me," said Garner, "but this is the impression it made on my mind: Conferences had been in progress all day and Smith's bloc was standing firm. Roosevelt could not break into other delegations, and Mississippi and some other states were about ready to desert him. Feelers showed that California would go to Roosevelt if I released the delegates. Texas would not, unless I went on the ticket with the New York governor. They had to sell the Texas delegates on the idea that Roosevelt, as governor of the most populous state, and I, as head of one branch of the government which

the Democrats held, would be a winning ticket. If Texas and California did not go to Roosevelt on the fourth ballot, Rayburn thought the convention was in for a deadlock.

"I didn't like the thought of taking the Vice-Presidential nomination. But I wanted another Madison Square Garden deadlock even less. The party had been defeated before it nominated John W. Davis on the 103rd ballot in that long fight between Smith and McAdoo back in 1924. We had taken another licking in 1928. So I said to Sam, 'All right, release my delegates and see what you can do. Hell, I'll do anything to see the Democrats win one more national election.'"

Late that day Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, who did not know Garner intended to release the Texas and California delegations, met Silliman Evans at the stairway leading to the convention platform. A tense crowd, expecting another wild night, packed every seat in the great hall.

"Has Texas done anything?" asked Harrison.

"Yes," replied Evans, "and so has California. We've voted to go to Roosevelt."

"Good Lord! Mississippi's just voted to leave him!" Harrison exclaimed and rushed back to bring a quick reversal of that decision.

The Californians leaped jubilantly to the Roosevelt band wagon. They had the honor all delegations like—that of casting the deciding vote—and it had come to them unexpectedly. Under the interpretation of the California law only Garner could release them, and he had talked only to Rayburn and no one in the California contingent knew the action was imminent. McAdoo only a few hours before had said:

"California will stay with Garner until hell freezes over."

The Texans went sullenly to Roosevelt. Actually there is some question whether the Lone Star delegation ever voted to go to Roosevelt. Texas had only 46 votes in the convention, but 180 men and women were there to cast them, each delegate having a fraction of a vote. Only 105 of the 180 showed up at the caucus, and these voted to go to Roosevelt, according to the tally given out, by 54 to 51. The vote was taken amid great confusion. What if the 75 absentees had been present? How would they have voted? At least some of them were anti-Roosevelt to the last, were at the time working in other delegations for Garner and never heard of the caucus. Garner had got 11 votes from Oklahoma,

bringing his total to 101. Other Oklahoma delegates were said to be ready to come his way. But whatever the technical, or the actual situation, the convention floor record shows that Texas went to Roosevelt with all of its 46 votes. Texas and California gave Roosevelt all he needed. A flood tide of breaks from other states followed. Only the Smith men stood out to the last.

When William G. McAdoo was recognized to announce that Garner had released his delegates, yowls and howls and hisses and boos from the galleries stopped all proceedings. Senator Walsh of Montana, the chairman, had to call on Mayor Cermak of Chicago to quiet his friends, which finally he did.

While the angry demonstration was at its height, Will Rogers came to the press box and sat down beside me. He was low in spirit.

"Here I have been neutral all my life until now," he said, "and the first time I come out for a man he throws his strength to a fellow with a Harvard accent. No good can come to a Texan who does a thing like that."

Garner, in Washington, slept through the night of turmoil. He did not even listen to the radio. It was not until he saw newspapers the next morning that he knew his released delegates had brought about Roosevelt's nomination.

Garner was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by acclamation. No other name was considered. But still, the Texans were not happy. Texas had been an enthusiastic Woodrow Wilson state, a League of Nations state, and many Texans resented Roosevelt's repudiation of the League in his February 2, 1932, speech before the New York State Grange. In this speech he had taken his stand "firmly and beyond equivocation" against American participation in the League. So the Texas delegates left Chicago with mixed feelings. They were glad to have a Texan on the national ticket, but were disappointed that he had the second place.

"It's a kangaroo ticket," said Archie Parr, a veteran Texas political leader. "Stronger in the hind quarter than in front."

Roosevelt flew to Chicago to accept the nomination, but Garner asked that formal notification be sent him by mail, and that the stale ceremonies be dispensed with. This was done, and Garner wrote a letter accepting the Vice-Presidential nomination.

"Be sure to put a stamp on that letter," he said to his secretary. "It is not official business."

Back in Washington after the convention debris was all cleaned up, I talked with Garner about the charges that he had swapped his delegates for the Vice-Presidential nomination.

"I have something of a reputation as a trader," he said, "and that reputation would not be helped any by trading the second most important office in the nation for one which in itself is almost wholly unimportant."

"Then why did you do it?" I asked.

"I am a Democrat. I believe the country needs the Democrats in power at this time. The convention was heading toward the 1924 situation when McAdoo had around 500 delegates and Smith around 300 and fifteen other men split up the remaining 250. If Roosevelt's strength had begun to break up on the fourth ballot, as it would have, I don't think any candidate could have got a two-thirds majority until after so bitter a contest that chances of winning the election would have ceased to exist. I did what I believed was best in the situation. But when I give up the Speakership I will give up a place wanted. The Speakership is a potent office regardless of who is President. If I am elected Vice-President my hands will be tied because I'll be elected on the same ticket with the President."

The Vice-Presidential nominee opposed any extensive speaking campaign for the party nominees in 1932.

He told Roosevelt at their first meeting at Hyde Park:

"All you have got to do is stay alive until election day. The people are not going to vote for you. They are going to vote against the depression."

He thought there was some advantage in Roosevelt making a tour. He felt the Presidential candidate's public appearances would end any talk that he was physically inadequate for the office.

He amused himself offering wagers that no one could pick any combination of five states that the Republicans would carry. Although they carried six, no one had the right combinations and he won all his bets.

When Garner reached New York in the autumn he found that no one from Democratic headquarters had talked to Al Smith. Garner



Garner loomed as a compromise candidate for the Presidency in 1932, but rather than deadlock the convention he threw his strength to Roosevelt. (Bateman, *Fort Worth Record*)

called William J. Bray, who had grown up in the House cloakroom and of whom Garner was very fond.

"Billy," he said, "if you'll find Governor Smith's office for me, I'll go have a visit with him."

Bray said it would not be hard to find as he was in the highest building in the world.

While Garner's entourage remained outside, Garner and Smith had a long conference.

Smith afterward spoke in behalf of the Roosevelt-Garner ticket.

Garner made an appearance before a group of businessmen in New York. He had been pictured in the East as a radical. When Garner concluded, he had not only convinced them he was not radical, but the diners gave him \$120,000 for the Democratic campaign fund.

He was called to Texas during the campaign because of the death of his eighty-two-year-old mother.

He appeared with Roosevelt at Topeka, Kansas, and made one radio speech himself.

When the Democratic national committee asked him to make more he said that one per campaign was enough. A delegation composed of James A. Farley, Frank C. Walker, Bernard M. Baruch and Senators Swanson of Virginia; Pittman of Nevada; and Byrnes of South Carolina, called on him and argued with him for three hours that he should make speeches. Garner stuck to his decision.

"Let's go on the principle of Captain Bill McDonald of the Texas Rangers," Garner said. "A riot was threatened in a Texas town and citizens wired to the Governor to send Rangers. Then they went to the station to meet the train. Bill McDonald got off.

"What," asked the leader of the citizen's group, 'just one Ranger?'

"Well," Bill McDonald drawled, 'there's just one riot ain't there?'

In his radio speech in which he discussed taxation and government economy, Garner opened with a tribute to Nicholas Longworth. He said:

"It was the proudest moment of my life when I became Speaker of the House. The pride I felt in attaining what I regarded as the most potent office in the government, with the exception of the Presidency, was mitigated with a sense of the responsibility it involved. This was particularly so because I succeeded a great Speaker and a great

man, my closest, dearest friend, Nick Longworth, a square-shooter if ever there was one and a Republican as devoted to the principles of his party as I hope I am to mine. We had our battles and there was an intellectual pleasure, you may be sure, in fighting one another. For Nick Longworth was a sportsman who played the game according to the rules. He conducted his battles fairly and cleanly and truthfully."

On the day Roosevelt and Garner carried forty-two of the forty-eight States, Garner's Texas district elected him to Congress for the sixteenth straight time. His nomination for Vice-President had come after Congressional nomination filing dates had closed. Consequently he conceivably could have been defeated for Vice-President and still been Speaker and now theoretically had his choice between the Speakership and the Vice-Presidency.

Actually, despite the fact that it was not the choice he would like to have made in the matter, his action was never in doubt. He resigned from Congress effective at noon, March 4, 1933.

The depression which began in 1929 and continued all through the 30's and into the 40's, reached its depth between the November election of 1932 and the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the following March.

As conditions grew desperate President Hoover, Speaker Garner, Secretary of the Treasury Ogden L. Mills and Senate Democratic Leader Joseph T. Robinson met at the White House and agreed upon a plan which they believed would alleviate conditions and, especially, would check bank failures.

Key to the plan was new taxes to make up an indicated deficiency between income and outgo, and passage of the Glass bill. The Glass bill did not guarantee bank deposits but provided a liquidating corporation to speed up payment to depositors in closed banks. It also contained other far-reaching bank reforms.

Garner, Robinson and other Democratic leaders conferred with Governor Roosevelt at Roosevelt's New York City home, 49 East Sixty-fifth Street and discussed the plan. On leaving the Roosevelt home Garner and Robinson told newspapermen of the agreement on the budget proposals, which paralleled their agreement with Hoover.

Governor Roosevelt indicated to newspapermen he did not disapprove the plan.

Garner called the proposed taxes "sound but painful."

Two days afterward the *New York Times* called the Roosevelt-Garner-Robinson conference "inauspicious" and said "the conferees cannot agree what they agreed on."

Actually Roosevelt a few days later told Garner he could not go along on the tax proposal. Garner went to Hoover and said:

"For the first time in my life I find myself unable to carry out an agreement. Governor Roosevelt is opposed to what we have planned, and it is a waste of time to try any legislation to which he will not agree."

Hoover said that Roosevelt's co-operation was necessary. He continued to make proposals of various measures to Roosevelt up to inauguration day, but there was no meeting of minds between the outgoing and incoming Presidents.

Scores of banks closed their doors between election and inauguration. A nation gripped in gloom greeted inauguration day.

You Can't Do Everything You Want To

NEVER did a man make a transition from a job which he enjoyed to one he felt sure he would not like with such fanfare. Garner marched straight across to the north side of the Capitol to take the oath as Vice-President on March 4, 1933, And he did not march alone.

Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, the only other man to have served both as Speaker and Vice-President of the United States, had resigned as Speaker the day before he took oath of office as Grant's first Vice-President.

Garner, in contrast, gaveled the House over which he had presided to adjournment and then, with Speaker-choice Henry T. Rainey, Majority Leader-designate Joseph W. Byrns and Republican Leader Bertrand H. Snell abreast and a convoy of more than 400 members of the adjourned House and more than 150 members-elect, marched to the Senate Chamber. While his legislative escort found seats, Garner walked directly to the dais and took the gavel from Vice-President Curtis.

"The House of Representatives and General Garner are going across to take over the Senate," quipped Representative Loring M. Black of New York, as Garner and his company moved through the corridors between the two legislative chambers.

The House had ceremonies and the Democrats presented Garner with a watch. The retiring Speaker and incoming Vice-President made four addresses during the day. Three of them were in the House and one in the Senate, which was a record for Garner. The fact also that he spoke as the presiding officer of both branches of Congress in one day was a record which no man up to then—or now—had made.

In his first talk, in response to the announcement of Minority Leader Snell that the electoral vote showed him elected Vice-President, Garner said:

"I do not think it out of order for me to say publicly what I have said privately—I would rather remain in the House of Representatives. I have enjoyed my service here. My ears and eyes and whatever intellect I have may be over there, but my heart will always be in the House."

In his speech acknowledging the gift of a watch, he said:

"Many journalists and some unthinking people in the land berate the Congress of the United States, especially the House. For the past two or three years I have given some study to the political history of this Republic, more so than I have all during my life heretofore. It is my deliberate judgment that there have been as able men in Congress in the last thirty years during which time I have served, as there have been in any Congress in the history of the Republic. There are as able men today in the House, in my opinion, as there have been in any Congress in our history. That is not partiality on my part. They do not stand out with the brilliancy they did sixty or seventy-five or a hundred years ago because for the last thirty years we have been living in a commercial age, in which we do not worship so much the intellect, the character and the statesmanship of men as we do their ability to accumulate the thing we worship today—the almighty dollar."

Snell then delivered the House's farewell to Garner. The Republican leader said:

"No man has reached the elevation of Speaker of this House by mere accident. He must have proven to his associates that he has character, ability and experience. The present Speaker has so proven in marked degree. During the period he has presided, he has added luster not only to his own name, but to the House and to the country. He has always presided with candor, fairness, firmness and dispatch."

Garner in reply gave another bit of his political belief. He said:

"I believe in partisanship. I believe in party organization. I believe this country must be continued under the Constitution through political parties, and I doubt whether there can ever be more than two effective political parties in view of the fact that the premier [President] must be continued for four years.

'Giddap'



—Brooklyn Eagle.

When Roosevelt aligned himself with the New Deal element of the party, cartoonists depicted Garner as the Lone Rider of the Democratic donkey. (Cassel, *Brooklyn Eagle*)

"In some way it is to be regretted that the Republican membership in the incoming Congress will not be as large as in this. The best proposition for the House of Representatives, could it be arranged that way, is a majority of about fifty or sixty on one side, whether it be Republican or Democrat. By this I do not mean to say that I am not very happy, as a partisan and as a candidate for office in the last election, that the Democratic party gathered in as many of the brethren

as it did. We are glad to have three hundred odd members in this House. I speak only of an ideal House, whether it be fifty or sixty Republican majority or fifty or sixty Democratic majority."

In his speech to the Senate, Garner took a good-natured jab at the Senate rules which permit a Senator to speak to his heart's content on any sort of irrelevant subject. He said:

"Senators, this is my first and possibly it may be my last opportunity to address the Senate. I am particularly anxious to ingratiate myself into your favorable consideration. Knowing from some observation the disposition of the Senate not to discuss any matter unless it is important and under particular consideration, I deem it inappropriate to say more than that I come as your presiding officer to co-operate, to be helpful, to do the best I can, to help you conduct the proceedings of the Senate."

Garner, never much of a worrier, may have been a little disturbed about how the Senate would receive him. He was a House man and had upheld the House end in many a stormy conference between the two branches.

Between twenty and twenty-five of the Senators had been his colleagues in the House, including Robinson, Harrison, Barkley, Glass, Byrnes, Sheppard, Connally, Norris and Tydings. Senator Bennett Clark of Missouri, son of the Speaker Champ Clark, Garner had known since Clark's boyhood.

But Garner, who had called the Vice-Presidency a "no man's land somewhere between the legislative and executive branch," had been asked by President Roosevelt to attend and participate in Cabinet meetings. When presiding in the Senate he would be associating with the legislative branch; when attending Cabinet meetings, with the Executive. There was a chance that Senators with whom he had to work would resent that divided function.

Of his immediate predecessors, Coolidge had been invited to attend Cabinet meetings and did so spasmodically. Dawes declined to go near one. Curtis did not go often. None of them had been more than observers. Actually, Curtis looked upon his office almost entirely as a social one. Garner knew he was not going to spend his time dining for his country. Protocol and the snubs and countersnubs of Washington official society amused both him and Mrs. Garner.

Garner accepted the invitation to attend Cabinet meetings under terms which he outlined:

"I decided that in order to carry out such a responsibility I must make an agreement with the President-elect," he said. "That agreement included three things:

"In the first place, in order to serve the President and the country in that capacity, I did not feel I should make a public statement. I also suggested that we agree during my term in the Vice-Presidency and association in the Cabinet that I would not make any recommendation for public office unless I was asked for a recommendation.

"The third part of the agreement was that I would not make any recommendation as to national policy unless I was asked."

Just before he surrendered the gavel as Speaker, Garner called in newspapermen covering the House of Representatives for a final conference. At its conclusion, he said:

"You have been coming in here every day. You have asked me a lot of questions and you have printed a lot about me. There hasn't been a more vociferous man in the country than I have been. I have been carrying on about Republican mismanagement and the combination of Morgan, Mellon and Mills—sometimes throwing in Mammon for good measure.

"Somebody had to do this. We have not had much organization and no one in particular to speak for the party. So I took over the job and used whatever ammunition I had ready. It is different now. Tomorrow I am going over to the other side of the Capitol. I will always be glad to see you, but don't ask me to talk. That is not my job any more. The man who is moving into the White House will do the talking."

Between his nomination the previous June and inauguration, Mr. Garner had told me why he considered the Speakership second only to the Presidency in the American scheme of government.

"The Speakership is a place of great power and offers vast opportunity for usefulness," he said. "The power of the Speaker, of course, like all others under our form of government, should not be abused but used only in the furtherance of good legislation. When his party does not hold the Presidency the Speaker is its highest officeholder in the nation. When his party does hold the Presidency his responsibility is augmented. The Speaker can uphold the constitutional role of the

House. As the ambassador of the most numerous branch of Congress he can say as Speaker Longworth did to President Coolidge: 'The House will not do what you want, Mr. President. I am from the House and like yourself a constitutional officer.' In his parliamentary functions and duties he must insure rigid impartiality between the parties. As a political officer he is bound by the platform and declared policies of his party. If the Speaker blindly follows the leadership of the President, if he becomes the President's spokesman in the House instead of the spokesman of the House at the President's office, he contributes to the blending of the legislative and executive branches and the consequent degrading of Congress.

"The Vice-President has no arsenal from which to draw power. He has no offices to bestow or favors to extend. He can make power for himself sometimes by his personality and ability. Only if by his association with men they come to have friendship for him and faith in and respect for his judgment can he be influential. He comes to the place through a national election and not as the choice of the majority of the Senators over whose sessions he presides. He may be the choice of just one man—the Presidential candidate. He may be the afterthought of a convention worn out in a struggle over platform or weary after a Presidential contest. It is a great and honorable office because the Vice-President is the constitutional alternate of the President and stands ready to assume that office if there is a vacancy. Normally the Vice-President's only official duty is to preside over the Senate and those duties are easily transferred to the President *pro tempore* or to a Senator. He votes in case of a tie if he chooses to break the tie by an affirmative vote. But if it does not suit his pleasure he does not have to vote even in case of a tie."

The bank holiday which greeted the new Administration called for quick legislation, and here the new President and Vice-President had their first disagreement. Roosevelt was against the guarantee of bank deposits and Garner favored it.

As a matter of fact, their argument about this began shortly after the election and continued intermittently for weeks. As President of the National Press Club I sat between them at a dinner and heard their argument.

"It won't work, John," said Roosevelt. "You had it in Texas and it

was a failure and so it was in Oklahoma and other states. The weak banks will pull down the strong. It's not a new idea, and it has never worked."

Garner replied:

"You'll have to have it, Cap'n, or get more clerks in the Postal Savings banks. The people who have taken their money out of the banks are not going to put it back without some guarantee. A national guarantee can be made to work. Depositors are not going to run on banks which have a government insurance. It would be like making a run on the government itself, and the people know that the government coins money and issues currency."

In the absence of a national system Garner wrote a letter to his son, Tully, personally guaranteeing every deposit in the two banks controlled by him. His guarantee prevented any withdrawal of deposits from his banks.

Garner had first advocated government insurance of bank deposits in a joint debate with his Republican opponent at a gathering in Wilson County, Texas, in 1908. Shortly after he became Speaker, he urged Chairman Henry B. Steagall of the House Banking and Currency Committee to make a study of it and see what could be done about getting a bill.

In April, two months before either the Republican or Democratic national conventions, Steagall went into the Speaker's office and said to Garner:

"You know, this fellow Hoover is going to wake up one day soon and come in here with a message recommending guarantee of bank deposits, and as sure as he does, he'll be re-elected."

Garner replied:

"You're right as rain, Henry, so get to work in a hurry. Report out a deposit insurance bill and we'll shove it through."

Steagall went to his office and prepared a bill and introduced it on April 14. Five days later the Banking and Currency Committee reported it out. Steagall then conferred with Speaker Garner and his Alabama colleague, Acting Chairman William B. Bankhead of the House Rules Committee. They decided to wait for a favorable time for its consideration. On May 25 it was made a special order of the day and passed after four hours' debate.

Thus at the time of the National Press Club dinner the bill was already through the House and had been languishing in the Senate for six months. Because of Roosevelt's opposition Democrats let it die with the close of the session.

About the time of Roosevelt's inauguration, Garner told me he hoped Roosevelt could be won over to the bank-guarantee proposal. He talked to Roosevelt as the President-elect lay in bed at the Mayflower Hotel.

"I was on one side of the bed and Gus Lonergan [Senator from Connecticut] sat on the other side," Garner related. "I told him I'd get Tom Love [ex-Texas bank commissioner and an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and with Roosevelt a member of the little Cabinet in the Wilson administration] up here to tell him why it didn't work in Texas and as a state system elsewhere, but can be made to work as a national proposition."

That disagreement between Roosevelt and Garner was amiable. But Roosevelt remained unconverted. At his first press conference as President on March 8, 1933, Roosevelt still opposed the plan. In the Senate, Senator Vandenberg of Michigan attached a bank-deposit guarantee to the Banking Act of 1933. President Roosevelt, still opposed, wrote to the Senate and House conferees saying, "I must again express to you my definite feeling that the Vandenberg amendment must be rejected in toto." The conferees left it in and both Houses passed the bill. The President signed it on June 16.

A long time afterward, President Roosevelt reviewed the success of deposit insurance and recommended its extension.

"This record amply justifies the confidence which we placed in deposit insurance as an effective means of protecting the ordinary bank depositor," the President said.

When Garner read the statement he winked and said:

"I see Roosevelt is claiming credit for the guarantee of bank deposits."

Robinson, Harrison and others in the Senate welcomed Garner's assistance. He had legislative know-how and there was work enough for all. As the party's legislative tactician he operated from three offices, each office having a different purpose. In the Vice-President's room, a work of marble, gilt and walnut, just off the Senate Chamber,

he held quick conferences, often just before roll-call time. This was a single room; there was no clerk or stenographer there, only a policeman at the door—a six-foot-six, 300-pound giant, the biggest policeman in Washington.

At the four-room suite in the Senate office building, Mrs. Garner and the Vice-President's clerical force held forth. She had always been his secretary and continued to be. He saw visitors there. He made no appointments for a specific time. A caller went there and waited his turn. He got to his office at seven-thirty in the morning.

"If you get up early enough you can see him, but you can't get up early enough to persuade him," Senator Pat Harrison said.

By ironic circumstances Garner was the first Vice-President to occupy these luxurious quarters over which he had a heated argument with Senator Smoot. When the addition to the Senate office building was being planned, Garner as a member of the House opposed the plans for an ornate Vice-Presidential suite, a private entrance for the Vice-President and the so-called "Vice-President's Plaza." Smoot was in favor of the plan.

The two men met on the conference committee called to resolve differences between the House and Senate versions and argued at length, with Garner contending it was too extravagant, but the conferees voted him down and Smoot had his way.

The water from the tap in Garner's office was always warm, and Garner explained it this way:

"It's been that way ever since Smoot left. He was so cold that he just had to put one hand on the pipes in his office of a morning and it refrigerated the whole building."

Garner had moved the Board of Education over from the House side a week after he became Vice-President. The new location was in a part of the old Supreme Court Chamber. It had been used as the workroom for several Associate Justices and here many a learned jurist had wrestled with his soul and his syntax in majority or dissenting court opinions.

For the use to which Garner put it there was nothing more formal in the way of furnishings than a table, a few straight chairs, a cupboard and an ice-water cooler. The chairs were purposely none too comfortable. It could be a place of hospitality and felicity. Or it could

be what Senator Nathan Bachman of Tennessee called it: "The Dog House." When it was used as a place to help a wandering Democrat see the light, the sessions usually were brief. Conversion ordinarily could be achieved in from ten to twenty minutes. A good deal of the real business of the Senate was consummated there. After any session a "blow for liberty" might be struck.

Members of the House came over to the Board of Education, too. Some of the legislation from the first was pretty strong medicine for the Democrats. This is a typical talk. Garner made it to a balking Southern member of the House.

"Sometimes conditions in a country justify temporary violations of deep principles of government. If there was ever such a time it is now. I know that in grants of power you have the historical fact that executives always surrender a granted power with great reluctance.

"Roosevelt is traveling one of the roughest roads any President ever traveled. When there's war you have an enemy to shoot at. But today we have deflation, unemployment and human suffering. The last thing I would want to do would be to even lift a straw that would hinder his progress. It looks [April 20] as if things are starting up. Stocks advanced, wheat is up. For the first time in a long time there is an optimistic market.

"Apparently the gods are with Roosevelt. From the way he has started he can be one of our greatest Presidents. There is one thing about the man: he has courage. There is another thing I have found about him. He may think he is right, but if you can show him convincing facts and figures, he'll change his mind. He isn't like my good friend Carter Glass. No one can help but like that old rooster, but once Glass gets a notion in his head, neither hell nor Woodrow Wilson could change him.

"Now this bill you are talking about isn't going through as it was proposed. I told the President it could not be justified economically and he is not going to write a message on it.

"But, as to your vote, look back and see what happened to the Democrats in the Senate who opposed Wilson on war measures and on the League of Nations: Kirby of Arkansas; Vardaman of Mississippi; Shields of Tennessee; Gore of Oklahoma and Hardwick of Georgia. Since the Civil War the Democratic party has been principally

a party of opposition. The few times we have been in, the South has been mighty proud to have a Democratic President. They want you to support him where you conscientiously can, to yield something maybe to do it in times like these when none of us know just what will work. If I were you, I would vote with the President on this and everything else I could if my conscience would let me at all.

"I think it is good politics and it is patriotism to do it. We are passing through a period of experimentation. No one knows which ones, but on some of these things the President will be right and on some he will be wrong. Remember he has been candid. On farm relief, for instance, he said that he might be wrong; but, if wrong he would be the first to acknowledge it. You can't help but admire a man like that.

"Now suppose you are in a campaign. Your opponent asks you if you voted for such and such a measure. You reply that you did not. That statement that you voted against your party at a time like this will carry more weight than all the arguments you can command. On the other hand: suppose your opponent says you voted for this measure and it has proved a detriment. You can say that you did vote for it; that by a majority of seven million votes Mr. Roosevelt was put in office. Then, go on and add that the President said frequently that we were passing through an experimental state; that, in view of this, you did not feel that you should do anything to embarrass the Chief Executive.

"And here's the answer. If Roosevelt succeeds in getting this country out of this depression, all hell couldn't beat you. If he should fail, you, in the bottom of your heart, might feel that maybe your lack of support might have contributed to his failure. Whether it did or not neither you nor anyone else could tell. Of course, it could be attributed to you and others like you, who failed to support him. But the fact remains that if Mr. Roosevelt succeeds in getting this country out of the depression as I believe he is going to, your greatest campaign asset will be your ability to say 'I put my shoulder to the wheel and helped him all I could.' You are young enough to be my son. If I had to campaign I would stake my chances on supporting the President."

Talks such as Garner had with this young Representative were

never revealed. But if the Vice-President was publicly silent he was privately vocal. The Administration consulted him about everything. When he objected to a policy or a piece of legislation, he made his objections in a salty way which gave no offense.

The one-hundred-day special session from March 9 to June 16 took up the sweeping recovery program. It was this special session which gave Roosevelt broader powers than any peacetime President had ever had. It included the power:

To establish control over all industry—minimum wages, maximum hours, regulation of production, etc., in N.R.A.

To set up a system of government licenses for business if necessary to assure compliance with N.R.A.

To institute and direct through a Public Works Administrator a \$4,400,000,000 public-works program.

To invoke World War I powers to regulate transactions in credit, currency, gold and silver—even to embargo gold or foreign exchange—and to fix restrictions on the banking business of the Federal Reserve System.

To eliminate old veterans' compensation plans and set up an entirely new pension system.

To reduce salaries of government employees up to 15 per cent if feasible.

To transfer, eliminate, consolidate or revise bureaus in the executive branch.

To repeal by executive proclamation (when suitable) new taxes voted under the Industrial Recovery Act.

To publish heretofore secret information re income-tax returns.

To inflate the currency by devaluing the gold dollar as much as 50 per cent, issuing U. S. notes up to \$3,000,000,000 or accepting up to \$200,000,000 in silver in payment of Allied war debts.

To employ more than 250,000 young men annually in reforestation (CCC).

To appoint a co-ordinator of railroads.

To appoint a Tennessee River Valley Authority.

Some of the ideas were revolutionary, but Garner was a man willing to go a long way with a new idea. He had heard himself classified both

as a conservative and as a progressive. He regarded himself as a progressive.

N.R.A. was one piece of legislation about which he had great misgivings. He said:

"It is a moony adventure and I don't think it will work, but I am willing to see it tried. You probably can put the big industries under codes, but you can't manage the business of the whole country from Washington. If it is not administered right it can become a monopolistic, cartelizing scheme."

Of the laws enacted, the Security Market and Holding-Company regulations were his favorites. The Holding Company Act, he said, would have been enacted by any administration in power in 1933. A study of holding companies had been inaugurated by the House Interstate Commerce Committee, headed by Representative James S. Parker of New York, a Republican.

As justification for going along with some legislation, the wisdom of which he was doubtful, Garner said:

"I sat in on conferences both at the White House and with Congressional leaders on these bills. On some of them I got modifications. When you do those things in party government you have to take some parts you do not like. Party policy is the composite judgment of the party obtained in elections, conventions, caucuses and conferences. There must be discipline and responsibility and when a program is decided on everybody has to fall into line."

Without making much ado about it, Garner began a process of hurrying up the proceedings of the Senate. It is a body which has always liked leisurely debate.

His speed plan was: After a bill had been read and before a Senator had time to clear his throat, adjust his papers and call for recognition, Garner in rapidly tumbling words would say:

"The question is: Shall the bill be engrossed, read the third time and passed. There being no objection the bill is passed."

Garner said his procedure was strictly according to the rules and if Senators were not alert "that is their hard luck. It is a quick way to do business. If a bill is pending and there is no objection to its passage, why shouldn't the Vice-President say, 'Without objection, the bill is passed.'"

A few times he received minor criticism for gaveling through legislation so fast it took the Senate's breath. A few times he made tart observations from the chair.

Senator Huey Long, in the middle of a filibuster against N.R.A., called on the Vice-President to require that all Senators stay and hear him talk. Garner who had no admiration for Long's oratory, shot back:

"In the first place the Senator from Louisiana should not ask that. In the second place, it would be cruel and unusual punishment."

Once Garner and Will Rogers were chatting in the Vice-President's office just before the Senate convened. Senator Robert M. La Follette came in and quietly asked to be recognized shortly after the Senate convened.

A few minutes later Long stormed in and demanded recognition. Garner made no promise to either La Follette or Long. After Long had left, Garner turned to Rogers, and said:

"Will, sometimes I think the hearing in my right ear and the vision in my right eye isn't as good as it used to be. Long sits on my right and La Follette on my left. A man has to be fair in this job and bad vision or hearing can handicap him. I may not be able to hear or see Huey this morning."

When the Senate convened, both La Follette and Long were on their feet asking recognition, La Follette mildly and Long fairly shouting. Garner recognized La Follette.

At the end of the session Senator Borah broke Senate precedent by putting in a resolution praising Garner's fairness as a presiding officer. The Senate adopted it by a unanimous rising vote and gave Garner an ovation.

Borah said:

"The session just closing has been a most arduous one, more so, I believe than any I have attended with the possible exception of those during the war period.

"I think I speak the sentiments of all members of this body when I say that we profoundly appreciate the fairness, the impartiality and the ability with which the Vice-President has presided over the proceedings of the Senate at this session. To the end that we may have this expression in permanent form, I ask for the reading of the resolution which is upon this desk."

“Resolved: That the Senate hereby expresses its profound appreciation of the vigilance, impartiality and distinguished ability with which the Vice-President, Honorable John N. Garner, has presided over the proceedings of this body during the eventful session now drawing to a close.”

Replying from the chair, Garner said:

“Senator Borah, Senator Robinson, members of the Senate, I hope you will indulge me for just a moment to say that when I came from the House of Representatives to the Senate to preside over it, I felt a very great weakness, as it were. I was apprehensive that I could not preside in the Senate as I had in the House of Representatives and I am not so certain that I have been so successful here as I was in the House.

“I do appreciate this expression of your confidence. I may have been a little hasty at times, but on every occasion, Senators, I have undertaken to protect the rights of each individual Senator. So long as I shall preside over the Senate, I hope to be able to facilitate the business of the Senate, but in doing so, I assure you that it will be my desire to protect the rights of every Senator; and that is one of the obligations of the presiding officer. I am appreciative of this resolution and I wish you all health and happiness until next January.”

Carter Glass remained his intimate and his most frequent companion at baseball games, Garner’s favorite recreation. He called Glass his private scorekeeper, but said he was an unsatisfactory one:

“Carter scores too many errors and not enough hits,” Garner explained.

Garner nearly always had as many as three Senators with him at a ball game.

“When there are three you’ll notice there are usually two Republicans and a Democrat,” he said. “I am not going to get caught like Dawes did.”

During Dawes’s term as Vice-President, President Coolidge sent the nomination of Charles F. Warren of Michigan to the Senate to succeed Harry Daugherty as Attorney General. Dawes was asleep at the Willard Hotel when the vote on confirmation was taken and it failed by a tie vote.

Garner, who was an afternoon sleeper, too, had a sleeping couch in

the Vice-President's office. His explanation of this and two Republicans to one Democrat at a ball game was:

"The ball park is about the same distance from the Senate Chamber as the Willard Hotel. One of Dawes's forebears rode with Paul Revere, and if he couldn't make it with that kind of ancestry, I couldn't. One of the Republicans I take offsets the Democrat on a roll call and the other offsets me if it is a tie vote."

Garner in his eight years as Vice-President was called on only twice to vote. In 1933, he broke a 42-42 tie on a Connally amendment to an appropriation bill and in 1934, a tie on a motion of Senator Borah to take up certain legislation in the Senate. As Speaker, he cast a vote to break a 169-169 tie of an amendment to his own public-works bill.

Once at a ball game, Senator Frederick H. Brown of New Hampshire coaxed Garner into a ten-dollar bet. Garner lost. It was the biggest bet he ever lost on a game and he didn't like it. Garner started to pay off.

"I tell you what I would like to have you do," said Brown. "I'd like to have you autograph this ten-dollar bill. I'd like to frame it and give it to my grandson."

"Do you mean you are not going to spend it?"

"No, I want to frame it," said Brown.

"If I gave you a check would you cash that?" Garner asked.

"No, I would frame it," Brown said.

"Then I will give you a check instead of the cash," Garner said.

A Vice-President can shed his presiding duties by the simple act of beckoning a Senator to the chair. Garner knew how to wander around the Senate Chamber during a zigzaggy debate while someone else presided and sit down in the seat next to a wavering Senator at exactly the right time to come up with that Senator's vote on the subsequent roll call.

Garner liked to give new Senators a chance to preside. Senator Elbert H. Thomas, Utah, said:

"The first time I saw Vice-President Garner was just after my election. I had never seen him before and neither had he seen me or any of the new Senators who accompanied me. Yet he called each one of us by name.

"It made us feel warm and friendly right from the start and it also made us feel important in Washington. Two or three days later the Vice-President handed me the gavel and told me to preside over the Senate. He wanted the new Senators to become familiar with parliamentary procedure and his method was to give them the job of presiding as President pro tempore, while he went out for lunch or a smoke.

"The parliamentarian took good care of us whenever a question of procedure arose but it did make us go back to our offices and bone up on parliamentary law and the rules of debate in the Senate, which is what Garner wanted us to do."

One of Garner's close friends was Senator Jesse Houghton Metcalf of Rhode Island, reputedly the richest man in the Senate. Garner called Metcalf "Old Plute." Another close Republican friend was Republican Leader Charles L. McNary of Oregon.

Once Garner went on an automobile outing with a group of Senators. There were four cars. In the first was Senator Bachman of Tennessee. On the Virginia-North Carolina line they were halted at a Japanese beetle inspection station.

Bachman told the inspector to be sure to watch out for a car containing an old man with white eyebrows, who would be riding in the front seat with the chauffeur. He said he wanted to warn the inspector in advance.

"The old man is mean as hell and he was bragging up the road a way that he could put anything over on you inspectors. He's got a trunk full of plants. He'll deny it, but do your duty and make him open up the trunk."

Bachman drove off behind a barn to watch. When Garner drove up he stuck his head out of the window and said he had no plants.

"Oh, yes," said the inspector. "Well, I'll take a look anyhow." He delayed the Vice-President a full fifteen minutes.

Garner made no comment to Bachman and told the other men in the car not to mention it.

That night it was very obvious Garner knew who was responsible for the trick. Bachman paid heavily for it in a poker game.

Senator Borah of Idaho spent a great deal of time in Garner's office.

Once Garner lamented the fact that he had not had more scholastic and law-school training.

"If you had probably you would have been a good constitutional lawyer and there are too many constitutional lawyers around here now," Borah said.

When gold was taken out of circulation Garner lamented the fact that he would have to break a long custom of sending a present of it to a constituent, he said, giving the man's name:

"Bill — carried a county for me the first time I ran for Congress. No one thought he could do it. He is the father of seventeen children. Each Christmas I have been sending him \$50 in \$2.50 gold pieces. He needs it and I like to send it.

"The people I cherish most are those friends who supported me the first time I ran for Congress. It has been the pride of my life that the ones who supported me the first time have voted for me every time since."

At the end of the record-breaking, 100-day legislative session, Garner headed for Texas for his first vacation since President Hoover called him to Washington, for the moratorium conference in October 1931.

Hugh Johnson had been appointed administrator a day or two before and was setting up N.R.A.

"I am going to get out of my hotel rooms and let some of the economic midwives have them," Garner said. "A half-dozen of them are sleeping in the lobby now waiting for me to get out."

In Texas, he made the most extensive tour of the states he had made in several years. With him he had Postmaster General Farley, Jesse H. Jones, Amon Carter and Will Rogers. Rogers wrote in his syndicated column:

"We went on out to the beautiful little city of Uvalde, where John Garner lives. They had a little speaker's stand out at the field and we all made speeches, Garner the best one, for he was at home. He appreciates his people and they appreciate him.

"You know Garner is quite a man.

"Lots of people might not realize what a capable man we have as Vice-President. Do you realize he was the dominant Democrat of the House of Representatives for twenty years? He engineered, or helped to, every bit of legislation that went through Congress.

"Not a man living is as well posted on all affairs of this government as Jack Garner. God forbid that anything should happen to our Chief, but the fellow that thinks Garner couldn't carry on in great shape is crazy.

"Nick Longworth told me ten years ago that Garner is the smartest man in either the Senate or House. There hasn't been a shot fired that Garner didn't know what the shooting was about."

After the 100-day session of Congress, Garner thought there could be a little more deliberation in the passing of legislation. He was not wholly happy about the Wagner Labor Relations Act. He believed labor legislation was necessary, but distrusted legislation that played favorites.

"The principal obligation of government," he declared, "established in accordance with American principles and traditions, is to protect all the people in the free enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and the pursuit of happiness."

He continued: "It takes a good many laws to meet modern conditions even under that philosophy. But the Wagner bill is one sided, makes government a partisan of labor, and in its effort to stop the exploitation of labor has in it the seeds of exploitation of capital. This, however, can be cured by amendment. It will be tested in court, of course. So give it its day in court and in experience.

"My ideal, and I think the ideal of all true Democrats, has been to make the Democratic party an instrument of good government for all the people. The first and chief task of the government is to establish justice. The belief of my party has always been, as I understood it, that a government is not just which has either favorites or victims. I don't want the Democratic party to be an organized labor party or an organized capitalists' party, and this law can be administered in a way to make our party the organized labor party."

To a Texan who wrote to him protesting that some acts of the Administration were apostasy to Democratic principles, Garner replied:

"You can't do everything you want to, and I can't do half of what I would like to do. You can't control everybody you would like to, and I am in the same fix."

When the neutrality bill was pending, he told me:

"My position may be unpopular and I recognize the good motives behind this legislation but I think international law and usages and

precedents are enough. I think a neutrality law will get us into more trouble than it will keep us out of. No body of men can draft a law that will cover every war threat. That being the case, it is better not to have a law on the statute books that will fetter the hands of the government in its relations with foreign countries."

Garner liked the people he worked with in the Senate. Robinson, Harrison, Barkley and Byrnes he considered the best combination of legislative workmen he had ever known.

The Vice-President never seemed to be physically or mentally tired. His good humor kept the Senate in good humor. There was a new story or anecdote about him every week. His language was picturesque but seldom as sulphurous as it was quoted.

Garner was what he was. One could like him or leave him alone. The Senate liked him and he liked the Senate. He was doing very well in the office he did not want.

Mr. Common Sense

AS FOR his role at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol: Garner attended the Cabinet meetings at the White House diligently and participated in the discussions. It was in his capacity as an adviser to the President rather than the presiding officer of the Senate that he had his second serious disagreement with Roosevelt in the first four years of their association as President and Vice-President.

This one concerned the advisability of the diplomatic recognition of Russia. Roosevelt opened the subject rather casually as Garner was preparing to leave for Texas at the end of the 100-day special session of Congress. The general understanding was that Russia wanted "unconditional recognition" with the question of debts to the United States, Comintern propaganda for the overthrow of the American government and other questions to be discussed later.

The President of the United States has absolute authority in diplomatic recognition of other nations. But it was a question on which Garner had emphatic views. It had arisen periodically ever since the Wilson administration. Wilson turned the Soviets down flat. Harding, Coolidge and Hoover carried on this policy. Four Secretaries of State—Colby, Hughes, Kellogg and Stimson—had washed their hands of the recognition matter until Russia fulfilled a number of obligations, including the cessation of agitation for the overthrow of the American government by force.

Garner thought former Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, in a letter to Russian Foreign Commissar Chicherin, made a correct appraisal of the situation when he said:

"If the Soviet authorities are ready to restore the confiscated property

of American citizens or make effective compensation, they can do so. If the Soviets are ready to repeal their decree repudiating Russia's obligations to this country and appropriately recognize them, they can do so. It requires no conference or negotiations to accomplish these results, which can and should be achieved at Moscow, as evidence of good faith. The American government has not incurred liabilities to Russia or repudiated obligations. Most serious is the propaganda to overthrow the institutions of this, our country. This government can enter into no negotiations until these efforts directed from Moscow are abandoned."

When Roosevelt broached the subject the Vice-President vigorously opposed it. He reviewed his dealing with this problem both as a member of the Ways and Means Committee considering the refunding operations recommended by the War Debt Commission, and as a member of the House. Garner had voted against the British, French, Italian, Greek, Rumanian and other war-debt settlements because he believed they were unfair to the American taxpayers. But they had at least acknowledged the debts, he said.

Russia, on the other hand, not only had never acknowledged its obligation to repay the net of more than \$300,000,000 left of the Kerensky debt and the more than \$400,000,000 in American private claims for the confiscation of property. The Soviets actually had issued a decree repudiating these obligations. Garner told the President that, in his view, the Comintern was just as active in 1933 as it had been at any time in the twelve years of its existence, and that the Russian government was just as little disposed to acknowledge its debts. He did not want to give such a regime the prestige of American recognition.

"I'd hate to see you get off on the wrong foot on this Russian business," Garner told the President. "I'd bide my time on it. I think the country and the bulk of the Democratic party are opposed to it. What support there is for it seems pretty tepid, and the opposition, including the churches and some important people in the American Federation of Labor, are hot against it. But regardless of the sentiment for or against it, I don't think it is right. If this outfit has kept its word to anyone or done anything in good faith I have not heard about it."



Garner gaveled legislation through the Senate so fast as to amaze that body and the public. The Senate had a reputation for being frostily aloof from Vice Presidents. (C. K. Berryman, *Washington Star*)

Garner knew of no Democratic leader who was strongly in favor of Russian recognition except Henry T. Rainey, who had succeeded him as Speaker.

"My considered judgment," Garner told the President, "is that the United States will gain nothing by recognizing them and may lose a lot. Even from the dollar-diplomacy standpoint, I don't think it can be justified. I don't think Russia has any ability to buy from us. We would have to furnish the credit for any purchasing they did.

"I doubt if more than 2 per cent of the Russian people belong to the Communist party. I think Kerensky and his followers were the only hope the Russian people had for self-government or will have in your or my lifetime. These Communists have established a stable government. There is no doubt about that. But they have done it by one

blood purge after another, behind closed doors, and of which the world has had very slim reports. I wouldn't be in any hurry to recognize that sort of regime. Maybe the best way to get along with them is to let them alone."

Garner left Washington convinced that Roosevelt was intent on the diplomatic recognition and would find an opportunity for conversations with the Soviet government just as soon as possible. The Vice-President thought it was Litvinoff's speech before the World Economic Conference in London, a week or so before the conversation between the President and Vice-President, that had rewhetted Roosevelt's desire to recognize Russia. Litvinoff had said that under given conditions the Soviet government "might agree to place orders abroad in the near future in the sum of about one billion dollars."

The commodities Russia might take he listed as "ferrous metals; materials for the textile, leather and rubber industries, machinery, railway equipment, breeding stock, consumers' goods and new ships." Billion-dollar orders didn't grow on trees in those deep depression years, but Garner felt the whole Litvinoff speech had been a hazy affair, and doubted whether any Russian order for goods would materialize.

The Vice-President had no other opportunity to talk to Roosevelt on the matter before he read in the newspapers of the October 10 letter in which Roosevelt told President Kalinin of Russia that he would like to end the "present abnormal relations" between the countries, and added: "I should be glad to receive any representatives you may designate to explore with me personally all questions outstanding between our countries."

Garner took special notice of the words "with me personally."

Kalinin replied on October 17, along the Russian line of "unconditional recognition." Whether or not he was a figurehead, Kalinin's short letter was a very clever one. He had always held the opinion that the situation between the two countries was "abnormal and regrettable. . . . I am glad to note you also have reached the same conclusion."

Kalinin said that there was no doubt that the difficulties, present or arising between the two countries, "*can be solved only when direct relations exist between them; and that, on the other hand, they have*

no chance of solution in the absence of such relations." (Italics added.)

Kalinin also said:

"I shall take the liberty further to express the opinion that the abnormal relations, to which you correctly refer in your message, have an unfavorable effect not only on the interest of the two states concerned, but on the general international situation, increasing the element of disquiet, complicating the processes of world peace and encouraging forces tending to disturb that peace."

Kalinin named M. M. Litvinoff, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, as his representative. Litvinoff was instantly ready to leave for the United States. He arrived in Washington on November 8, and had two conferences at the State Department with Secretary Hull and lunch with President Roosevelt. On the following day he conferred at the State Department, but from then on he seemed to be following the terms of the Roosevelt October 10 letter to confer "*with me personally.*"

On November 10, Roosevelt and Litvinoff talked for one hour at noon and three hours at night. On November 11, Armistice Day, Litvinoff was with State Department officials for an hour or two. On November 12, Roosevelt and Litvinoff had a two-hour night talk. November 15, Roosevelt and Litvinoff conferred for forty-five minutes. On November 16, they conferred for two hours and at ten minutes before midnight agreed on recognition.

The sequence of the correspondence given out pointed to a victory for Russia on "unconditional recognition." The first letter from Roosevelt to Litvinoff of less than one hundred words announced that the United States had decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with Russia. Litvinoff, in an even shorter letter, replied in wording similar to Roosevelt's.

There followed, dated the same day, five letters from Litvinoff to Roosevelt and four from Roosevelt to Litvinoff and also a joint statement signed by both.

There were some strange paragraphs, such as the first one in Litvinoff's opening letter to "respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States."

Litvinoff, according to widespread reports around town at the time, was almost defiant when in his relatively brief conversation with Hull, the American Secretary of State attempted to discuss the Comintern. At any rate, it is definitely known that Litvinoff contended that the Comintern had no government affiliation or backing, and in his agreement signed with President Roosevelt did not mention this propaganda organization and merely promised to "restrain all persons in Government service and all organizations in receipt of financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order or security of the whole or any part of the United States."

Litvinoff went back to Moscow without any agreement on the \$800,000,000 of United States claims for public and private debts against Russia and no settlement on them has ever been reached. President Roosevelt, happy at concluding the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries, said in a letter to Litvinoff on November 22, 1933—which, incidentally, was Garner's sixty-fifth birthday—that "the co-operation of the two governments in the great work of preserving peace should be the cornerstone of an enduring friendship."

Garner's comment on all this was:

"It's all through and the dishes wiped as far as I am concerned. I hope it turns out better than I think it will. Every other civilized country in the world has given American citizens better protection than Russia. It may open the 'Closed door.'" (Note: Garner was referring to the "closed door" as the "iron curtain" is now referred to.)

"If we have acquiesced in the Comintern and given it opportunity to work unhampered in this country, we may be inviting trouble. This outfit wants to pull down our government and every government in South America and every capitalistic government everywhere. In time of a depression such as this, when millions of people are out of work, it looks like a poor time to invite in organized and disciplined agitators."

Garner was inclined to think from the letters that the discussions had been superficial and that the nine days between Litvinoff's arrival on November 8 and the agreement on November 16 constituted undue speed for negotiations of such consequence, although Litvinoff in

Berlin on his way to the United States had flippantly said that the whole thing could be settled in thirty minutes.

Stalin, the real Russian leader then as now, appeared nowhere in the negotiations for American recognition, nor did his chief deputy, Molotov; Kalinin, nominal head of the state, appeared mainly in the naming of Litvinoff as envoy. Garner believed Roosevelt, head of state, should not have dealt with a Russian representative of secondary rank.

The Vice-President did not accept Litvinoff's contention that the Russian government had no responsibility for the Comintern, inasmuch as of the ten members of the Politburo, the Communist party steering committee, two were the most prominent members of the executive committee of the Comintern. These were Molotov, president of the People's Commissars, and Joseph Stalin, then secretary general of the party.

Garner never ceased to think the recognition of Russia was one of the most fateful actions of our history, and that we may have bolstered the Communists in a time of their great weakness.

Events of the following years did not change his attitude. To him they were Tartars bent on conquest. Just after Russia's brutal moving in for her part of the swag in Poland, after the German invasion, he said to President Roosevelt:

"You haven't much choice, Cap'n. Either Hitler or Stalin would conquer and subjugate the world. Hitler by force and Stalin by chicanery, corruption, treachery and undermining."

But if Roosevelt brushed aside Garner's advice on Russia he did not on Cuba. One day in 1933, during the series of uprisings which drove President Machado out of the Cuban Presidential Palace and in rapid succession put the De Cespedes, San Martin, Hevia and Mendieta administrations in and out of office, Roosevelt called Garner at Uvalde to get the benefit of the Vice-President's perspective and cool head.

Garner was out feeding his chickens when the telephone call came. The President waited on the line while the Vice-President cornered, caught and penned an obstreperous bantam rooster which was running amuck.

After Roosevelt explained the situation, he asked:

"What do you think we ought to do, Jack?"

Garner replied:

"I'd keep out of Cuba."

"But suppose an American citizen is shot?" the troubled President asked.

"I'd wait and see which American it was, and how come he was shot," Garner replied. "Then I'd try to handle it so no more were shot. I'd let them know mighty quick that I wasn't aiming to have any more Americans shot and there had better not be."

Intervention, it turned out, was not necessary.

In 1935, Garner went to represent the United States government at the setting up of the Philippine Commonwealth and the installation of Manuel Quezon as its President. It was a particularly pleasant mission for Garner. In his first Congressional platform in 1902, he had favored Philippine independence.

At Victoria, British Columbia, he made an eight-and-a-half minute speech, which his colleagues on the trip considered a long speech for him. It was off-the-record.

The party went on to Japan, visiting Yokohama, Kobe and Tokyo. Garner got information that the Emperor intended to receive only him and not Speaker Joe Byrns, who was also a member of the party. Garner insisted that Byrns go with him and to this the Japanese reluctantly agreed.

In his conversation with the Emperor, Garner told him that the Speakership was a more important office than the Vice-Presidency.

Both Garner and Byrns said they had no intention of taking their shoes off when being introduced to the Emperor. He was the highest-ranking American official ever to visit Japan, and as a representative of this government he wanted to be received in the American way. Word came back that the distinguished foreign visitors were not required to remove their shoes.

The Vice-President walked across the highly polished wooden floors of the Emperor's palace wearing high-laced black shoes which looked as if they needed shining. They were very dusty, for he had walked to Meija Shrine with Mrs. Garner and other members of the party. He wore a cutaway and striped trousers.

Garner made no speeches in Japan and the only formal event he attended was a stiff luncheon given by Foreign Minister Koki

Hiroti for the Vice-President and the Speaker. The Foreign Minister luncheon was attended by Premier Kiesuke Okada, War Minister Yoshiyuki, Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, Prince Konoye, President of the House of Peers and other Japanese officials.

There were some unpleasant episodes. An automobile party of Representative Bert Lord of New York was accused of taking a picture of a fortified zone and was detained for questioning, and police on another occasion took three cigars out of the pocket of Senator Trammell of Florida, as he was reboarding the ship. These things nettled Garner when he heard of them.

In China they met with such a wholehearted and cordial reception in Hong Kong and Shanghai that Garner said:

"Now, these are our kind of people."

As the first Roosevelt term drew to a close, the President apparently felt that Garner was selfless, referred to him as "Mr. Common Sense" and found him versatile and useful.

Garner's conception that silence was the role the makers of the Constitution had in mind for the Vice-Presidency did not work out so well for him. He said:

"I can render better service for the country and this Administration if my name never gets in the paper."

Although he made no speeches his purported stand on every issue was printed or gossiped.

Once he said:

"I think you newspaper fellows try to get at the truth by writing things to see if I will deny them. You can't entice me. I never have or never will deny or affirm such things."

And he did not deny anything when he saw himself quoted directly on statements he had never made.

Roosevelt once asked Garner to break his no-speech rule and address the annual luncheon of the Associated Press in New York. Roosevelt said:

"Well, Jack, you only made one speech in the campaign and you ought to make one nonpolitical speech during your term."

Garner replied:

"You know all my life I have been an independent cuss. I have my own thoughts and views. So far as I know there is no conflict be-

tween us now. If, however, I should deliver an address, the first thing the country would ask is: Does he speak for the President? Any speech or statement I made would be searched to find a difference between you and me."

Roosevelt agreed he was right.

Three universities offered him degrees of doctor of law in the spring of 1933. Garner refused them and many others. He said to me:

"They have offered me the honor of these degrees because they think I have some ability in legislative affairs. I do not wish to accept them unless in so doing I can give a message—or a philosophy, if you wish to state it that way—of my belief in the principles of government. I do not think I ought to do that now."

Later he did accept two degrees. One was from Baylor University in Texas, and one from John Marshall Law School in New Jersey. He did not speak on either occasion.

Garner continued to attend the Cabinet meetings, when in Washington, all during the first Roosevelt term. Some he found interesting and some so time killing and unproductive that he walked out at the half.

At some of them Roosevelt was such a chatterbox that scarcely anyone else got in a word. This amused Garner. Once he said:

"I'd like to have a computation on how much Roosevelt talks and how much he listens. I'd imagine he utters five hundred words to every one he listens to."

He thought the Cabinet members themselves as a rule did not get to bring up enough of the important matters which they faced.

"With the Cabinet members generally I have pleasant relations," he told me.

Hull he had known and worked with and respected highly for a quarter of a century. Swanson, with whom he had had very pleasant relations in Congress, was ill most of the time after he went into the Cabinet. Roper, also an old acquaintance, he regarded as able in some ways but tiresomely loquacious. Dern, and later Woodring, he admired for courageously expressing their viewpoint whatever it might be.

For Farley his esteem was increasing all the time.

"Farley is not only a master mechanic in politics, but he is an able

public servant," he said. "I believe he is doing the best job in the Postoffice Department of anyone I have known."

Miss Perkins, he thought, expressed a view on welfare matters that was very useful but not adequate for the post she filled, especially at a time of great growth in the ranks of organized labor and increasing labor problems.

"In the economy effort at the beginning of this Administration," he said, "she came nearer living up to the program than any other Cabinet member."

He seemed to think that it was by unspoken mutual consent that he and Ickes were not exactly buddies.

"I don't recall ever having had a conversation with Ickes," he said. "We just speak or nod. We don't seem to hit it off."

Wallace, he thought, had crazy ideas and Morgenthau no ideas at all.

Morgenthau was a never ceasing source of wonder to him. He wondered by just what method of sorcery one he regarded of such meager abilities remained in the high post of Secretary of the Treasury.

Garner was an expert on taxation and fiscal matters and had occupied the top Democratic post on the tax-making committee of the House. After long dealing with such able Secretaries of the Treasury as McAdoo, Glass, Houston, Mellon, and Mills, the helplessness of Morgenthau appalled him.

Besides his visual appraisal of Morgenthau at Cabinet meetings, Senators would tell him how Morgenthau brought an army of assistants in his appearances before the Senate Finance Committee and had to get the answers to questions the Senators asked from them.

Once Garner said:

"Morgenthau is the most servile man toward Roosevelt I have ever seen. I mean servile, not loyal. When he is called on in the Cabinet meetings [the Secretary of State is called on first at Cabinet meetings and then the Secretary of the Treasury], he speaks his piece and leaves. It looks like he is afraid someone will ask him a question and he will give an answer that will displease Roosevelt."

The Vice-President tried to joke and exchange pleasantries with Morgenthau but gave it up because he "had no sense of humor." He thought perhaps the phrase was "exactly twice too long."

Once when it was rumored that Morgenthau would resign, Garner said:

"He won't. Even if he seriously wanted to his Papa wouldn't let him."

The Vice-President got along very well with the brain trust although he said he could not understand some of their imported words and gaudy phrases. Raymond Moley he seemed to like best of all.

"Moley speaks Ohio language and that isn't much different from Texas language," he said.

"I like simple language. I never use anything but simple words myself and there are usually enough of them to tell what you have to say. When a man is able to think of them in simple terms, some of these large problems come down to the same size."

Another time, he said:

"Some of these professors have real competence and I admire competence. Some of them want to experiment just for the sake of experimenting. In sound progress there is a lot to looking back and taking advantage of experience. You can't disregard human experience."

Garner retained his strong influence in the House of Representatives. Rainey had proved a weak Speaker and displayed jealousy toward the former Garner House lieutenants, John McDuffie of Alabama; Lindsay Warren of North Carolina; Fred Vinson of Kentucky; Sam Rayburn of Texas and others. Rainey died in August 1934, and Joseph W. Byrns of Tennessee, who succeeded him, failed to manage the House business well, although he had previously made a good record as Appropriations Committee chairman. Byrns, too, died in June 1936, and was succeeded by William B. Bankhead, who died in September 1940.

Senate Majority Leader Robinson and Speaker Bankhead both conferred with Garner continuously. He had the finest relations with both, stepped on the toes of neither, and in no way encroached on their power or prerogatives. Garner felt that he had been useful to an extent and could be more useful in a second term when there would be more permanent legislation and fewer grants of power to the executive branch. His term as Vice-President generally had been pleasant. "The job is delightful," he said. "I like it. But it is almost entirely unimportant."

Another time he said:

"The Vice-President is a figure of slight importance with a title of great impressiveness."

After the Senate celebrated his birthday, and Senator Clark said Garner had made the office of Vice-President the useful one the Constitution makers intended it to be, Garner told a little group in his office:

"There can be great Judges, great Governors, great Senators, great Representatives and great Presidents. A Vice-President may move into the Presidency and be a great President. A great man may be Vice-President, but he can't be a great Vice-President, because the office in itself is unimportant. In my judgment, the four most potent offices in the nation are: The President, the Speaker of the House, the majority leader of the Senate, and the Chief Justice of the United States.

"In any of these four offices, of course, everything depends on the nature of the man holding it," he said.

But because the Vice-President may at any time succeed to the Presidency where Garner said "the powers are vast beyond imagination," he felt the Vice-President should be as carefully selected as the President.

"No second-rater ever ought to be nominated for Vice-President," Garner said.

From a Democratic party standpoint, two capitalized words disturbed him. The term "New Deal" began to be used with disquieting frequency. Garner had never thought of the term *new deal* in capitalized form. He had merely thought of the Democratic party as the instrumentality for providing a *new deal* to a depression-ridden country. He used the term, when he used it at all, as Theodore Roosevelt's *square deal* and Woodrow Wilson's *new freedom* had been used.

More and more *New Deal* annoyed him. It was exasperating when officeholders, some of them political castoffs from other parties, began to refer to the *New Deal* party. Men in high Administration posts for the first time began to say they were New Dealers, not Democrats. These New Dealers admitted to no Democratic party loyalty, regarded themselves merely as coalitionists with the Democrats. Some of them he thought were mercenary coalitionists.

The left wing New Dealers were proposing strange innovations, not to bring recovery but to take the country down strange paths. The spend and spend, elect and elect theory had not been expounded, but it was on its way.

Afterward, Mr. Garner believed this group really began to gain Roosevelt's ear after Louis Howe was no longer at the White House. This little gnome of a man, Garner thought, exerted more influence with Roosevelt than anyone had up to that time, although Harry Hopkins later had a similar relationship. After a long illness, Howe died on April 18, 1938.

His last words to Garner from his death bed were:

"Hold Franklin down!"

Garner's relations all during the four years with Roosevelt were excellent. They saw each other often. Roosevelt made him a member of his cuff-links club, a little group which sometimes played poker with Roosevelt.

"I like to play poker with him," Garner said.

One night in a West Virginia lodge, Roosevelt and Garner played most of the night.

But Garner begged out of most of the social engagements Roosevelt proposed.

Both Roosevelt and Garner were well-to-do. There have been wealthy Presidents and wealthy Vice-Presidents, but seldom if ever was there a President and Vice-President at the same time so comfortably situated financially as the two chief elected officers of the nation in the time of its greatest depression.

Garner perhaps was the wealthier. He had gone to the little West Texas town when he was twenty-two years old and by trading and farseeing investment built up a fortune. Roosevelt's fortune had come to him by inheritance.

Garner never did anything in bad taste.

To one rule Garner religiously held:

"I will not engage in anything for profit that is in the remotest way connected with my government service."

To a radio sponsor who offered him a contract amounting to close to \$100,000 a year, he replied:

"I am not worth it as John Garner, and any value I have attained as Vice-President of the United States is not for sale."

He never speculated in commodities, stocks or bonds.

"My reason was this," he said. "I occupy federal office. Congressional or other governmental action might affect the value of such securities. When the average citizen reads of an officeholder making money through such dealings it disgusts him and tends to break down the people's confidence in democratic government.

"There usually is nothing dishonest in such dealings, but it is a mistake in judgment and shocks the public opinion. Royalty observes deportment which officials in a Republic sometime neglect. It is called *noblesse oblige*."

During the depression, shortly after the Democrats came into power, Garner told me:

"I've got \$100,000 to invest. Steel stock is selling at 19. I know it is too low and I could make \$200,000 or \$300,000 on a \$100,000 investment. But it will be because of government stimulus to business and I cannot do it."

He invested the money in land. In 1948, he told me he had made the \$200,000 or \$300,000 in land.

"Land is the best investment after all, I suppose," he said. "Anyway, right now rural land is the best insurance against inflation and atom bombs."

The nation furnishes no residence for the Vice-President. Mr. and Mrs. Garner lived inexpensively in a three-room suite in the Washington Hotel, less than two blocks from the White House. Usually, they ate in the coffee shop of the hotel.

The Garners entertained once a year for the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. Roosevelt said the Garner dinners were the most enjoyable events he attended. Once he stayed until nearly two o'clock in the morning. Other than the Vice-President's dinner which the President gave for him and the Gridiron dinners, given by a group of newspapermen, Garner accepted no bids to social events. The interminable invitations which came to him and Mrs. Garner they declined.

To accept no invitations to dinners in a city with the largest per capita of free-loaders anywhere in the world in itself constituted Garner an anachronism.

The Vice-President saw nothing unusual in his desire to live just as routine a life in Washington as in Uvalde. He was a good mixer in any gathering and enjoyed himself when he went out. His greatest

pleasure was a small, spontaneous gathering. However, he liked to go to his hotel suite after a day at the Capitol, play rummy with Mrs. Garner for a while and have dinner alone with her.

When Garner was a member of the House, he and Mrs. Garner attended the movies. But after he became Vice-President, autograph hunters and other annoyances caused him to discontinue this.

When the depression was at its depth there were suggestions that Garner be given Secret Service protection. It was pointed out to him that Washington was full of people who might attack any high government official.

Garner sometimes facetiously called Secret Service men "constables." When the guard was suggested, he said:

"I don't want those constables guarding me. There is not anybody crazy enough to shoot a Vice-President."

Curiosity gazers he sought to avoid wherever possible. When he first became Vice-President, he walked from his office in the Senate office building. The twice-a-day walks through the Capitol grounds he discontinued. Sight-seers, knowing his punctual habits, waited to shake hands with him. He changed his habit and took to the subway train which transports Senators between the Capitol and the Senate office building.

But one custom Garner never gave up in his thirty-six years in Washington. Whenever possible he went to the Washington Zoo.

"I like to go to the zoo because the animals don't talk," he said.

Garner was held up to his colleagues by Dr. George W. Calver, special Capitol physician, as a man who knew how to take care of himself in the midst of Congressional strains. Dr. Calver listed Garner as a man who goes to bed every night at nine-thirty.

"Libel," said Garner, "it's nine o'clock."

Somebody asked him when he played poker. He replied that he was a "retired poker player."

"Haven't played for seventeen years," he said. "Oh, I may play penny-ante. But this: 'Bet-you-five-hundred' or 'bet-you-five-thousand' business, I quit that years ago."

There was no doubt that the Democrats would renominate Roosevelt and Garner in 1936. The Vice-President felt there was little doubt about the election outcome and speculated on the Republican ticket. Once he said to me:

"The Republicans used to do the politically smart thing most of the time. If they get back the knack I would imagine they will give Herbert Hoover a Grover Cleveland try. [Cleveland had been renominated by the Democrats in 1892 after being defeated by Harrison in 1888.] He couldn't win, but he would carry more states than anyone else they can put up. From an organization standpoint in a year when they have little chance, Hoover would be their best nominee, because even though he would lose, he might carry a number of other Republican candidates to victory." When Landon was nominated, he said: "The Republicans have set the stage for a party debacle."

Just before the Democratic national convention at Philadelphia, Garner said:

"Whatever have been his faults and his errors, Roosevelt has been a good President for the country. He's got too much power. Some power we have granted him is no longer needed. The other can be worked into the framework of the law. He has been matured by four years in office. With good administration of the laws we have enacted, his second term should be an Indian summer."

Roosevelt and Garner were renominated by acclamation at Philadelphia in July. Garner attended the convention. With Roosevelt he accepted the nomination before a packed multitude in Franklin Field. It was the first time he had ever faced so tremendous a crowd. On the way to Franklin Field that night he told Mrs. Roosevelt of an experience:

"I got up at six o'clock this morning and walked around the streets," he said. "That's about saddling-up time in Texas, but it's early here. The only people up were policemen, cab drivers and night workers. I talked to them and most of them are going to vote the Democratic ticket, and none of them have done that before. We will carry Pennsylvania."

Mrs. Roosevelt thought he was too enthusiastic, so he made the only bet he made on the election that year with her. It was for one dollar and he won. The Democrats carried Pennsylvania, for the first time since the Civil War.

Garner thought Roosevelt should not make a campaign. The reason, as he saw it, for the Roosevelt appearances in 1932 were no longer present. The country did not doubt the President's physical fitness for office.

But he was eager for President Roosevelt to make a statement repudiating Communist support in the campaign. Garner felt the soft recognition of Russia was the one mistake of the first Roosevelt term that would be hardest, if not impossible, to rectify.

Roosevelt made the repudiation in a speech. He opened his campaign with it, before the Democratic state convention at Syracuse, on September 29. The President said:

"I have not sought, I do not seek, I repudiate the support of any advocates of communism or any other alien 'isms' which would by fair means or foul change our American democracy. This is my position. It has always been my position. It will always be my position."

However, the Communist support, such as it was, went to the national candidates, apparently principally through the American Labor party in New York. In the nation only 80,096 votes were received by Earl Browder, the Communist candidate for President.

Garner made one speech by radio from Uvalde.

In November, the Roosevelt-Garner ticket carried forty-six of the forty-eight states. The Republican party was pulverized. Garner was so certain of the result that he did not even listen to radio returns of the election.

On a cold, raw, rainy day Roosevelt and Garner were sworn in for their second terms on the portico in front of the Capitol. It was the first January 20 inauguration and the change from the time honored March 4 date was inauspicious.

With the Senate Chamber ceremonies omitted, Garner took the oath the second time from Senator Joseph T. Robinson. He answered the oath with the words:

"I do."

That day Garner got an important piece of information.

Roosevelt told him he never would run again for public office.

Garner also gave Roosevelt some information.

"Neither will I," he said. "I am going to take my good wife and do some traveling."

From their trip to the Orient in 1935, Mr. and Mrs. Garner had come back with a desire for more travel.

Now in four more years, Garner felt, they could indulge that taste.

The Split Begins

V ICE-PRESIDENT Garner probably got greater satisfaction out of the 1936 victory than anyone. When he took over as minority leader of the House after the 1928 Hoover landslide, the Democratic representation in Congress was so small and the party's influence in the nation so weak that there had been widespread suggestions that the party abandon its historic name and reorganize as a new party.

Now it was at a summit never before reached by any political party in modern times. In the Senate there were 77 Democrats, 15 Republicans and 4 representatives of minor parties. In the House of Representatives there were 330 Democrats, 90 Republicans and 13 representatives of splinter parties. Democratic governors sat in most of the State Houses of the nation and Democratic legislatures were in control.

But in one way Garner feared the proportions of the sweep.

"Things may be too one sided for our own good," he said. "It all depends upon the use we make of our victory. If we justify the confidence of the country the Democrats might remain in power for another quarter of a century. These next four years can be a period of calm correcting and perfecting legislation and the Democrats have never had one.

"Cleveland never had a working majority in Congress. Wilson lost control of the House in his close race with Hughes and had to depend on a coalition in the war years, and we had a Republican House in his last two years. Roosevelt is started out on his second term with majorities of unprecedented proportions in both Houses."

Garner's idea was that "amend, amend and amend" would be the Administration watchword.

"We have passed a lot of experimental legislation and any experimental legislation has to be amended in the light of the experience with it," he said. "There was no ready answer to all problems and everything could not be foolproof. I think now we can have sound legislation and more coherent administration of it. We are not putting out a fire now.

"Any party that comes in with a good working majority in Congress does its best work in the first term. If it can keep a fair working majority in its second term it can amend and correct.

"You cannot do everything in an eight-year term, but you can do all the country can get used to. The solid, lasting things come with gradualness. If you work too fast and don't let things settle down a little the people get fatigued and you get reaction."

The Vice-President emphasized the need to translate some of the emergency powers given to the President into carefully drawn legislation and some of them he thought could be repealed.

Garner told me he hoped the President would address himself to reducing expenses and balancing the budget. Roosevelt had campaigned on an economy platform in 1932. Garner thought the most effective speech of his ticket mate's campaign and the one that clinched the first Roosevelt election was the one he made from a stand built over second base at Forbes Field in Pittsburgh. In this speech Roosevelt said:

"The credit of the family depends chiefly on whether that family is living within its income. And that is equally true of a nation. . . . But if, like a spendthrift, it [the nation] . . . is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending; if it extends its power to the limit of people's ability to pay and continues to pile up deficits, then it is on the road to bankruptcy. . . . Taxes are paid in the sweat of every man who labors because they are a burden on production and are paid through production. . . ."

In that same speech Roosevelt proposed saving by abolishing many of the "innumerable boards and those commissions which, over a long period of years, have grown up as a fungus growth on the American government." He ridiculed the results of loans to "backward and crippled" countries; he believed repeal of prohibition would help toward balancing the budget without additional taxation, but he

Cactus Jack Rides Again



Garner's influence in Congress was to rise to a high level. He was credited with being greatest legislative influence in modern Congressional history with the exception of the two Speakers of the House, Reed and Cannon. (F. O. Seibel, *Richmond Times Dispatch*)

promised to prevent return of the saloon. And he said that no person would be appointed to his Cabinet unless he promised "Absolute loyalty to the Democratic platform, and especially to its economy plank. . . ." Reduction in federal spending, he asserted, "is the most direct and effective contribution that government can make to business. . . ."

In 1933, Roosevelt made his first, and also his last, economy drive and Congress passed the short-lived Economy Act of 1933:

"I do not take our 1932 economy pledge as a deceptive promise to win an election," Garner told me at the outset of Roosevelt's second term. "Perhaps we could not carry out all our campaign promises. The country's economy was unbalanced from 1933 until now, and our program had to be flexible. But there is no reason why we can't balance the budget now. You can repeal unwise or unworkable laws but you can't repeal the public debt."

Roosevelt assured Garner that a real effort toward this end would be made when they talked over the President's budget message. On January 8, 1937, Roosevelt sent his message to Congress promising "a layman's balancing of the budget" in the fiscal year 1938 and a complete balance and resumption of payment on the public debt in 1939. Garner was disappointed, however, at the number of *ifs* with which the President qualified the message.

A pleasant little personal episode showed the continued good relations between the President and Vice-President. The President's trip to Buenos Aires jammed up the ten formal White House social gatherings. If held, all would have to come within the first forty days of the year. These and the Vice-President's dinner for the President at the Hotel Washington clogged the White House social calendar.

"I'll tell you what I'll do, Cap'n, if it is all right with you: I'll skip that dinner I have been giving for you," Garner proposed.

"Fine," Roosevelt responded. "I like the idea so much if it is all right with you, I'll cancel my dinner for you."

"That's two of eleven eliminated," said Garner.

"I know you don't like to stay up late, anyway," Roosevelt said. "So instead of these dinners I'll have you over to luncheon oftener."

But these happy relations were fated to undergo a severe strain and all dreams of a tranquil second term abruptly ended. These were the things that split the Democratic party: (1) Administration silence on the

sit-down strikes, (2) the spending program and the unbalanced budget, (3) the Supreme Court enlargement bill, (4) Administration interference in the Barkley-Harrison Senate leadership contest. (The attempted purge of Democratic legislators, which widened the split, was to come later.)

First portents of trouble came not from political Washington, but from industrial Michigan.

The year 1936 was ushered out by sit-down strikes, a newly imported strike weapon. Members of John L. Lewis' C.I.O. Automobile Workers Union occupied two Fisher Body plants of the General Motors Corporation from December 30 to January 16 when they evacuated. Issuance of writs of body attachment for their forcible ejection had been refused on January 2. The shut-down, sit-down strike spread to Chevrolet, Cadillac-LaSalle, Pontiac and other plants. Six thousand sit-downers took and held possession of eight Chrysler plants for nearly three weeks.

Garner believed the C.I.O. came into being heavily infiltrated with Communists. He thought there had been a rush of Communists to several important branches of the C.I.O. notably the Automobile Workers Union.

While the country hotly debated the President's duty in the sit-down crisis, the President and the Vice-President just as hotly debated it in Washington.

At a session at the White House, the President, Vice-President and the Secretary of Labor, Miss Perkins, discussed it at length. Garner told me of part of the discussion.

"I said to Miss Perkins," he related, "'do you think the sit-down strike is right?'"

"'Yes,' she replied.

"'Do you think it is legal?'"

"'Yes,' she answered.

"I asked the President:

"'Do you think it is right?'"

"'No,' he replied.

"'Do you think it is legal?'"

"'No,' he replied."

Garner left a White House meeting under the impression that

Roosevelt would issue a statement excoriating the sit-down strike. But the statement did not materialize. He heard that Wallace and Hopkins talked the President out of it, but did not confirm this.

There the matter stood one afternoon about five o'clock when Garner and Robinson appeared at the White House to discuss the legislative program which would be taken up immediately after Roosevelt's second inauguration. It was almost eight o'clock when the Vice-President and majority leader came out.

The first acrimonious exchange between Roosevelt and Garner had taken up most of the three hours.

"It was the hottest argument we ever had," Garner said. "I told him that I regarded the sit-down strikes as seizure of other people's property in brazen defiance of the law; that the strikers were in illegal possession of the plants; that it was not a strike for better wages and working conditions, but a step in the fight of John L. Lewis for personal and political power; that Lewis was arrogantly expecting the backing of the Democratic party in his sitdown undertaking as a pay-off for his support and campaign contributions.

"I asked the President what he intended to do if the state of Michigan could not or would not enforce the law. What if the state did not or could not maintain a Republican form of government as guaranteed by the Constitution? I told him the country was entitled to know what his attitude was toward this new and formidable weapon. We went at it hot and heavy.

"When the President said, 'I couldn't get those strikers out without bloodshed,' I replied: 'Then John L. Lewis is a bigger man than you are if you can't find some way to cope with this.'

"Finally Joe Robinson broke in. 'You fellows are not getting anywhere,' he said, 'and I think you ought to stop the argument.'

"I said: 'All right I have made my argument. I will never mention Lewis' name to you again.'"

Garner told me:

"After this, Roosevelt told me many times, 'Jack, you were right about Lewis!'"

When he was leaving Washington at the end of his thirty-eight years of public life, Garner said:

"I think that is the only angry discussion we ever had. I disagreed

with him many times and expressed my viewpoint as forcefully as I could, but there were no brawls."

But Garner and Robinson left the torrid White House session with this agreement:

The session of Congress would pass the appropriation bills, do a little tinkering on legislation already on the statute books and adjourn. The whole thing could be done in six months, which meant a June adjournment.

Garner made plans for a June vacation in Texas. The day before inauguration, Garner told one of his callers, Gene Howe, newspaper publisher, that he would be in Amarillo about the middle of June. The Vice-President's son, Tully, had moved to Amarillo to engage in the banking business, and both the Vice-President and Mrs. Garner were anxious to visit their son and his family in their new home. But the incredible civil war within the Democratic party was soon under-way and growing in intensity.

Administration inaction in the sit-down strikes, which had spread from Michigan to other states, was met in the Senate by a resolution by Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, condemning the new labor weapon. The Byrnes resolution recited:

"That it is the sense of Congress that the so-called sit-down strike is illegal and contrary to sound public policy. The Congress only assumes to speak as to strikes in industries within the jurisdiction of the federal government."

Byrnes went to Majority Leader Robinson and asked his support for the bill.

"I am for it, Jim, but I will have to oppose it," Robinson said.

It was plain that the Administration was opposed to the resolution. It was debated and finally came to a vote, being defeated forty-eight to thirty-six. Among those who voted for the resolution was Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri. It was common knowledge that Garner favored the Byrnes resolution.

But before the Byrnes resolution came to a vote, two other storms broke: the new spending program and the court reorganization bill.

On February 5, fifteen days after his second inauguration, President Roosevelt handed Congress his court reorganization bill, less than three weeks after he had told Garner and Robinson there would be

little other than appropriation bills for Congress to consider. Suddenly he had expanded his program to include the most highly controversial piece of legislation sent to Congress since the turn of the century. No one on Capitol Hill had even a hint the court bill was coming.

"The first time I ever heard of the bill, or that Joe Robinson or any of the others heard of it was when the President and Homer Cummings [then Attorney General] read it to us in the President's office," Garner told me that night. "It was all drawn to the last detail and ready for Congress. I loaded my automobile with Senators and Representatives and took them back to the Capitol. We were all so stunned we hardly spoke."

President Roosevelt received the press immediately after the Congressional leaders departed and explained the court bill in even more detail than he had given the Congressional leaders. I remember that I made notes on every piece of paper I had in my pocket, borrowed all I could and even used the back of a Tulsa *World* pay check for notes. Every reporter in the room was out of note paper before the press conference ended.

The proposal was received coldly at the Capitol with few exceptions. One, Senator Carter Glass, received it hotly, declaring in an unrestrained attack that the proposal was "frightful," "shocking," "brutal," "infamous," and "outrageous." Senator George W. Norris unexpectedly called the proposal unwise. It was not until three days later that Senator Henry F. Ashurst of Arizona, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, introduced the bill. Representative Hatton W. Sumners, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, refused to touch the bill, and its introduction in the House was from left-wing sources. In New York City on the afternoon of the day President Roosevelt revealed the plan, former President Herbert Hoover, not thereto noted for being fast on his political feet, characterized the proposal as "court packing" and the country quickly adopted the term applied to it by the only living ex-President.

Garner said:

"If the President had told any Congressional leader in advance about his court plan they would have tried to talk him out of it and

with something like the Sumners retirement bill there is no doubt that Vandeventer and Sutherland, at least, would have left the court."

While Democrats at the Capitol stewed over the court reorganization proposal, Garner continued to worry over the still unsettled sit-down-strike issue and about signs that President Roosevelt intended to continue heavy deficit spending. He said:

"We have tried everything in the economic cookbook and are at a point where the country knows better what to do for itself than Washington knows what to do for it. I may be an economic illiterate, but I never heard of any other great nation trying to spend itself into prosperity by going into debt."

Of the sit-down strikes, he said:

"Let the sit-down strike become established as an American custom and recognized in law and it will change our entire theory of government and of property ownership."

Garner never believed after the first few days of February that the court bill had any chance of passage. If it got through the Senate in any form, Garner thought, Sumners would sit on it in the Judiciary Committee with the hearty approval of the House. The Vice-President's chief worry about the court bill was that it threatened party harmony—and party harmony he regarded as a very important requirement of party behavior.

He was less concerned about the possibility of political control of the court. After the bill had been amended to permit the addition of only one Justice a year instead of six all at once, Garner said:

"Conceding that six additional Justices had been appointed at one time, it might have been tough for a while, but the court would have adjusted itself. That many men are certain to divide. No President can control that court. Those black robes and life-tenure appointments have their effect on men. I sometimes think it would be a better court if the Justices went on the bench in plain everyday clothes. But even in their robes some of them will always read election returns."

A month after he sent the Supreme Court reorganization bill to the Senate, President Roosevelt at the party's Victory Dinner amplified his plans to retire at the end of his second term. The dinner was held on March 4, the old inauguration day, which had just been abandoned under the Lame Duck amendment. He said:

"My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over this desk and this chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him as President a nation intact, a nation at peace, a nation prosperous, a nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a nation that is in a position to use those powers to the fullest in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity, a nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and the democratic method can and will succeed."

It was at about this time that reported Roosevelt-Garner differences began to be printed and talked about.

When it had become evident early in 1937 that Roosevelt would ask \$1,500,000,000 for relief for the next year, Garner protested to both the President and Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins. He told Hopkins that there was no opposition to adequate relief appropriations but there was a growing feeling in Congress and the country that relief was becoming a way of life to a part of the population and that some able-bodied relievers were becoming perennials. He didn't like the implications of W.P.A. officials referring to relievers as "clients."

The court reorganization bill was destined to have a six-month party-splitting run in the Senate. In its earlier stages President Roosevelt took two rather extended trips, one to Georgia and a fishing trip to Texas and the Gulf. He also took several shorter ones to Hyde Park. On his return from Warm Springs, late in March, he canvassed the situation with Garner, Barkley, Bankhead and Rayburn and expressed a fixed purpose to see the proposal through to enactment.

On April 12, the constitutionality of the Wagner Act was upheld by the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four. Hughes and Roberts were with the majority in this opinion. McReynolds, Butler, Sutherland and Vandeventer dissented. Roosevelt's determination to fight for the court bill deepened when the immovable four showed up in dissent.

On June 11, after the acrimonious court fight had been underway for four months and with no end of it in sight, Mr. and Mrs. Garner left for Texas on the trip the Vice-President had announced in January, when he had thought the session would end by June 15. It was the first time he had ever taken a vacation while Congress was in session.

Garner thought he would enjoy the rest.

"My ears are buzzing and ringing," he said as he left. Both factions in the court fight were using his ears to the full extent he would permit.

After Garner had gone from Amarillo to his home in Uvalde, he told me, he was amazed to see newspaper stories that the President objected to his leaving Washington, and that a rift between them was imminent as a result. He was sure that Roosevelt did not feel this way for Roosevelt himself had just taken two extended trips away from Washington. Later he was to hear from reliable advisers that Roosevelt was very angry at him at the time, but, Garner told me, the President never expressed his objections to him.

The debate on the court bill in the Senate opened on July 6, with lacerating verbal exchanges between Senator Robinson, leading the Administration fight, and opponents of the bill. Robinson knew that, barring a miracle, he was fighting a lost cause.

But Robinson, who never fought with padded gloves, opened the debate with all of his vigor. He pounded his front-row desk with his freckled fist in an exchange with Senator Wheeler, leader of the anticourt-bill bloc, and said:

"As one who is charged with some responsibility in this service, I hope the questions at issue will be fairly and fully discussed, as I know they will be; and, when that has been done, that those opposed to the legislation will yield without putting the Senate to the inconvenience and embarrassment of staying here long days and long nights in a test of physical endurance.

"Much as it might surprise the members of the Senate," he added, "I would probably come out of that kind of a test better than those who are in opposition, at least some of them. I think I could endure it longer than the Senator from Montana."

But off the floor that day Senator Robinson told me:

"I've got a hell of a job before me."

After a few days more of the agonizing oratorical struggle Robinson was dead of a heart attack, leaving the court fight without a leader, and the majority leadership vacant.

More than a month before Robinson's death, Justice Vandeventer had retired, making a vacancy to which the Arkansas Senator was to be appointed regardless of the outcome of the court fight. Robinson

had arranged a loan to buy a home across the river in Virginia. The man who had been governor, Representative and Senator from his state, three times keynoter at his party's national conventions, his party's 1928 candidate for Vice-President and for fifteen years his party's leader in the Senate, owned no home in Washington, and lived in a modest apartment.

President Roosevelt attended the state funeral for Senator Robinson in the Senate Chamber, but did not go with the funeral party by train as he had done in the cases of Speakers Henry T. Rainey and Joseph W. Byrns. Instead, he designated Garner to represent him and the Vice-President left Uvalde for Little Rock.

The Vice-President returned to Washington on the funeral train. Two things were under discussion on the ride back to Washington, the court fight and the Barkley-Harrison fight for Robinson's old post as leader of the Senate. Newspapermen gave the train party the information that Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, had written a letter to Senator Wagner, coming out against the court plan.

Garner in a drawing room of the train, took off his coat, loosened his belt and called a porter:

"Bring me some branch water," he said.

Before he reached Washington, he had talked to every Senator on the train, and had an accurate line on how the vote stood on the court plan. He had been noncommittal on his own attitude.

Both Harrison and Senator James F. Byrnes, in charge of his campaign, were certain Harrison would win the leadership fight. By most calculations Harrison had thirty-eight sure votes, a majority of one even if Barkley got all the other thirty-seven Democrats in the Senate.

Garner, photographed sitting between Harrison and Barkley, declared his neutrality. Then he told newspapermen, and allowed himself to be quoted to the extent of twenty-four words:

"I shall not by the nod of the head, the wink of the eye or the use of the vocal chord indicate any preference."

Both the court and the leadership fights were to be settled within forty-eight hours.

When Garner met Roosevelt the morning of July 20, after the train arrived in Washington, Roosevelt asked him:

"How did you find the court situation, Jack?"

Garner replied:

"Do you want it with the bark on or off, Cap'n?"

"The rough way," Roosevelt replied.

"All right," Garner said. "You are beat. You haven't got the votes."

The President agreed to shelve the Supreme Court enlargement plan and commissioned Garner to make the best settlement possible in the interest of party harmony.

But Garner's efforts were to be complicated by the Barkley-Harrison leadership contest. The White House Senate leader in the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, occupied a different role than under previous Presidents. Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, for example, who occupied that place in the Theodore Roosevelt administration, regarded himself as the Republican Senate manager, just as Senators Gorman of Maryland, and Culberson of Texas, his Democratic opposites, regarded themselves as minority legislative managers. Franklin Roosevelt regarded the Senate leader as the President's lieutenant.

The court fight awaited settlement of the leadership contest. In the Democratic caucus, Barkley defeated Harrison thirty-eight to thirty-seven.

Roosevelt, Garner and Farley all had agreed to keep hands off, treating it as a matter strictly to be settled by the Democratic members themselves without outside intrusion. But at the last moment President Roosevelt jumped into the contest on Barkley's side, bringing pressure on Senator Dietrich of Illinois, who had pledged himself to vote for Harrison, and on Senator Bilbo of Mississippi.

Garner was told that the President had telephoned National Chairman Farley, asking him to get in touch with Mayor Kelly and have Kelly put the heat on Dietrich. When Farley reminded him of their agreement and refused, Roosevelt had Harry Hopkins do it. At Kelly's insistence, Dietrich, who was a candidate for renomination and wanted the support of the Chicago machine, shifted to Barkley. (Dietrich did not, however, return to the Senate for another term.)

Bilbo had said that if Harrison would ask him to vote for him he would do so. Harrison sent word back that he would not ask Bilbo a favor for any office in the world. Bilbo voted for Barkley.

Garner was flabbergasted when he heard what had taken place. He exclaimed to me:

"I could have decided that contest. Morris Sheppard [Senator from Texas] came in here this morning and said: 'John, both Barkley and Harrison are my friends. Tell me which one to vote for. I will vote any way you say.' I told him: 'Morris, I ought not even talk to you about this. It is a matter for Senators to decide. Roosevelt and Farley and I have agreed to keep hands off.'"

Sheppard left the Vice-President's room, went to the caucus and voted for Barkley.

Of Roosevelt's interference Garner said:

"It is an encroachment on the prerogatives of members of the legislative branch no President of the United States ought to engage in."

Garner spent the rest of that day and the next in an attempt to arrange as tactful a surrender as possible in a Senate where the Democrats had been split almost exactly down the center in the Harrison-Barkley contest and was the same way on the court, with nearly all if not all Republican votes against the court enlargement.

Garner was compelled to deal with Senators who had Roosevelt beaten and knew it. In a last effort to save the Administration's face, he appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee and said:

"My loyalties are in this order: First, to my country; second, to my party; third, to my President." He offered a plan which he said would serve all three. The court enlargement opponents, secure in the knowledge that they had the votes to kill the bill, refused his offer.

The Senate voted seventy to twenty to send the bill back to the hostile Judiciary Committee, which meant its death. The vote carried instructions for the committee to report in ten days another bill dealing with procedural reforms in the district and circuit courts, but the Supreme Court section was out.

Garner jammed the watered-down bill through the Senate in a fifty-nine-minute session on August 7. The House passed the bill on August 11, and President Roosevelt signed it on August 25.

There were reports, apparently well authenticated, that the President did not believe the Vice-President made the best settlement possible. If that was his belief, he never told Garner.

At the close of his term, the Vice-President told me:

"He never indicated to me in any way that he was dissatisfied with the way I handled the matter."

At another time he said:

"In my opinion the fate of the bill was settled by Senators on the train coming back from Little Rock. Roosevelt made the most of his trouble in Congress by changing his course after he had reached an agreement. That was what happened in the court enlargement matter. He sent it to Congress without notice after saying he had no legislative program other than outlined. It was not a matter of party policy, for it was not in the party platform nor was it taken after consultation with Congressional leaders who would have to put it through. Party policy is not made by one man without consultation with elected officials from another branch of government."

Discussing this matter further at the end of his term, Garner said Roosevelt often changed his course without notice, to the consternation of leaders who thought they were in agreement with him on a clearly charted program.

"Even when the going was toughest I was determined not to have a rupture with him if I could prevent it. When I was opposed to a policy or a piece of legislation, I told him. Sometimes you could persuade him. He was a charming fellow. . . . But he was a hard man to have an understanding with. He would deviate from the understanding.

"I have seen many stories about things on which we disagreed. But the thing most frequently a bone of contention between us I have never seen mentioned. He was constantly trying to influence me in the appointment of Senate committees. He would suggest personnel for conference and special committees. Of course, I had nothing to do with the appointment of the regular standing committees of the Senate. But he would say to me about the special and conference committees: 'Jack, you ought not to appoint our enemies on these committees.'

"The issue of committee assignments did not become really embarrassing to me until the second term when the New Dealers began noticeably to divide away from the Democrats on ideology. On the investigating committees, especially, it was embarrassing to me. The right of investigation is a sacred right and one of the highest duties of the legislative branch. I tried to be very careful in the appointment of these committees. I didn't want to appoint publicity seekers. If these committees were conducted like courts they would not fulfill their

functions, but such committees must not overstep the bounds of decency. The purpose of an investigation is to get useful information, not to give the third degree to witnesses. If the committee member was a man of moral and intellectual integrity, intent on doing his duty as he saw it, I never gave much attention to his party politics and none to his shading within a party. I made up my mind I was going to put on the committee men I thought had stability and equipment for the task.

"A committee is not going to run wild if the proper care is taken in its selection and it is the business of the man who appoints committees to know whom he is appointing.

"I told Roosevelt I would follow the Senate wishes as much as possible on this. I had to treat the Senate with dignity. If I had not it would have been up to the Senate to take the power of committee appointments away from me. It should have done so. The Senate never overruled any of my rulings. During the Wilson administration it overrode Tom Marshall five times in one day."

To save a party smashup, the obvious strategy called for an immediate adjournment of Congress, a cooling-off period and the consolidation of the Democratic party into the semblance, at least, of an orderly majority once more. But President Roosevelt insisted on action on still another proposal—the wages and hours bill.

Garner thought Roosevelt's insistence on the controversial wages and hours bill on the heels of the party strife over the court bill was particularly inopportune. There had not been adequate study of the proposal, and its effect on thousands of businesses was unexplored, he said.

The strategy was agreed upon to pass the bill through the Senate and send it to the House where the opposition to such legislation was much stronger than in the Senate. This was done after the final enactment of the diluted court bill. Congress adjourned on August 21, to meet again November 15.

Of his own position, Garner said:

"In my first campaign for Congress in 1902, I advocated an eight-hour day for industrial workers and for all other city workers where it is possible. That was before the day of nominating primaries and I wrote it into the platform of the convention which first nominated

me for Congress. I have never changed my position. I have always believed in eight hours' work, eight hours' recreation and, if anyone wants it, eight hours' sleep.

"I have always believed in collective bargaining and the right of every working man and woman to the best possible wages. The wages part of the proposal does not bother me so much as the hours. I am not convinced that as a general proposition the men and women of the country can do the nation's work in a forty-hour week. There is a vast difference between forty-eight and forty hours.

"This is a mass-production country. We lead the world because we manufacture things in the mass and sell them cheaply. Most of the work of the country is done by machines, but even with all our machine-power I am not sure the wage earners can do the nation's work in a forty-hour week.

"We have always stressed the importance of making things multiply. From the time this nation was hewed out of the wilderness the emphasis has been on production. If just one generation has non-productivity preached to it or given to it by precept, the economy of the country will be damaged beyond repair."

The wages and hours bill had a stormy voyage through the House but legislative action was completed in June 1938.

Vice-President Garner came back for the short autumn session in November 1937, in excellent humor. He found that the tempers of Senators and Representatives were much better than when Congress adjourned. But he found plenty of evidence, also, that the legislators felt that if Roosevelt wanted to play rough with them they could play rough right back.

Garner was determined to exert all the influence he had to keep his President and his party going in the same direction.

"I like to feel that if I have contributed any one good thing during my terms of public service, it has been in bringing men and women together in combined effort to work harmoniously to a constructive end," he said. "I long ago came to realize that men who think right are not often far apart in their views."

Roosevelt and Garner talked over the President's relations with Congress at a long luncheon at the President's desk. Garner came away from the White House believing he had made some progress

with his suggestions on how to repair and improve these relations. He told the President in all candor that there was an increasing feeling in Congress that the Executive was by-passing it a great deal of the time and that when he did ask for legislation he sent up prepared bills.

"Most of the members of Congress are men of good will," he told the President. "By patience and considerate treatment you can get legislation."

Garner told the President that too many people in the executive branch were holding press conferences and propounding policies. He was depicting a situation of which every newspaperman in Washington was aware. From 1933 up to this time in the fall of 1937, it was difficult to get a news story at the Capitol. Previously, the White House had been a newspaper watch job. Roosevelt reversed all this. Now, instead of Senators and Representatives being sources of news, the legislators were more likely to get the news from newspapermen, relayed from the White House.

"When I occupied office where I was compelled to deal with public questions, I did not mind talking," Garner told the President. "The newspapermen always treated me well, but I did not jeopardize the legislative program by giving out premature information. I think you and some Cabinet members are giving out premature information."

Roosevelt said he agreed that Cabinet members were talking too much and he would curtail some of these press conferences, but not his own.

"My press conferences are useful and good politics," he said. "You don't realize what they have accomplished for the party. I have headed off big unfavorable stories by making favorable stories that top them. I've beat the opposition to the punch many times. I can always beat them on headlines."

Roosevelt laughed heartily at Garner's rejoinder:

"Well, I think at least you ought to inform Congress and not your press conferences on the state of the Union and transmit directly to it your desires for legislation."

Roosevelt did promise one definite innovation. He set aside one day a week, Monday, on which he would see Congressional leaders to discuss the legislative situation. The meetings began in January

1938. They were attended by the Vice-President, Speaker of the House and Senate and House majority leaders.

The legislative conferences, which continued until Roosevelt's death, did not work out as well as Garner had hoped. He said:

"The legislative conferences were satisfactory to a degree only. He talked the legislative leaders into a lot of things and we seldom talked him out of anything permanently. He would come back in another direction to accomplish his desires."

The Purge That Failed

HINTS that President Roosevelt intended to attempt a purge of Senators and Representatives who had opposed parts of his program began to be heard around the Christmas holidays in 1937. By January it was the subject of conversation at every bar and private cocktail party in Washington.

There had been reports immediately following the 1936 election that the left-wingers had decided that the party was not big enough for both them and the conservatives, and had blueprinted plans to dismantle the old-line Democratic party and set up a "liberal" party.

Among the leaders slated to walk the plank in the move away from "comfortable old Democratic orthodoxy" were Garner, Glass and Robinson. Garner regarded the talk as some more pullulations of the left-wingers and paid no attention to it.

There also appeared about this time a humorous newspaper article saying Garner was to be set aside for the crime of *laissez faire* and that there was undisputable evidence that he was guilty of the crime of believing two and two made four. *Laissez faire* at this time was taking a terrific pummeling. Everybody made an indignant speech against it. The test of *liberalism* in extreme left-wing circles was hatred of Laissez Faire and Señor Franco of Spain.

Garner was, in fact, no believer in *laissez faire*, unless this philosophy which he had stated in a public address could be so characterized:

"It is not the business of government to make individuals rich; though too often has government been bent to that purpose. Nor is it the function of an administration to direct the personal affairs of mankind, except insofar as it is necessary to place a bar against such things as injury, loss or discomfort to others. Putting the government into

business is a violation of the nation's industrial and commercial fabric. Government is a convenience of civilization by which a set of rules is enforced on a community in the interest of order and justice."

Garner thought of himself as a progressive although he had misgivings about much of the legislation labeled progressive.

"I consider myself a Democrat without any explanatory prefix," he once told me. "I think I am a progressive and I hope a sound progressive. There is a vast difference between progress and makeshift. Progress is the product of time. Improvising is still improvising no matter how dramatic you make it. When legislation is proposed I want the proposer to tell me how he thinks it will work in practice. A sure-footed progressive, as I regard it, is one who takes an action for a purpose, knowing what results the action is reasonably certain to accomplish."

It soon became evident that the reports of the contemplated purge were not mere gossip. There was a ring of authenticity about them. The President, it was said, preferred a *liberal* Republican to a *conservative* Democrat if need be, but that he was really intent on replacing *conservative* Democrats with *liberal* Democrats.

Partial confirmation was not long in coming. At the Jackson Day Dinner on January 8, 1938, which both Roosevelt and Garner attended, Roosevelt said that he had bolted his party on its Presidential candidate on his first vote, casting it for Theodore Roosevelt instead of Alton B. Parker. That wasn't the Garner kind of Democrat.

"Republicans sometimes are jolly companions," Garner said. "I have wonderful friendships with Republicans any time except on a roll call, any day except election day. On roll calls and in polling places I am a Democrat."

Pleasant personal relations still existed between the President and Vice-President. On February 11, Vice-President and Mrs. Garner gave their annual dinner—omitted the year before—for the President and Mrs. Roosevelt in the Rose Room at the Washington Hotel.

This year all members of the Cabinet and their wives, except Secretary of Navy Swanson, who was ill, were present. The other guests included R.F.C. Chairman Jesse H. Jones and Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Senate and House Democratic and Republican leaders and a few personal friends such as Mr. and Mrs. Howard Chandler

Christy and Mr. and Mrs. Gene Buck. The President had such a good time that he and Mrs. Roosevelt did not return to the White House until long after midnight.

On April 8 the President took a crushing blow to the chin in his effort to reorganize the executive branch of the government. So much opposition developed that the proposal of two new Cabinet members for the Department of Social Welfare and Department of Public Works and the plan to change the name of the Department of Interior to Department of Conservation was dropped.

But even these and other concessions did not make the measure more palatable in Congress. The whittled-down version of the bill was fiercely attacked. Speaker Bankhead and Majority Leader Rayburn sensing the proportions of the revolt made the issue one of confidence or no confidence in the President. Opponents thundered back that it was a test of whether there would be further centralization of power in the President's hands and further surrender of power by Congress. Despite the fact that there were only 90 Republicans and 330 Democrats in the House, foes of reorganization won 204 to 196. His own party administered the Congressional defeat. One hundred and eight Democrats had bolted, over their pleading Speaker and majority leader, joining 88 Republicans. No such mass desertion had occurred in either party since the September 13, 1922, crossover when 102 Republicans followed Garner in his motion to recommit and revamp the Fordney-McCumber tariff bill.

The President and Mrs. Roosevelt gave a return dinner to the Vice-President and Mrs. Garner and afterward Roosevelt and Garner discussed the purge.

"I don't think you ought to try to punish these men, Cap'n," Garner said to Roosevelt, speaking of the Senators who opposed the court enlargement bill. "On many details of party principles men disagree. Some branch off in one direction and some in another. Men who oppose you on one thing are for you on another and there is always a legislative program for which you have to find votes.

"I have a devotional affection for the Democratic party. I have marched and fought for causes with some of these men. They are Senators of the United States. The places they hold represent their life achievements, their struggles, their ambitions, the service to party and

Who Will Hold The Reins?



1-4-39
To Vice President Garner
with my compliments
Fred O. Seibel

-RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH - JANUARY 4, 1939

The Congress elected after the "purge" is represented as being one in which Garner's influence had risen while Roosevelt's strength was at a low. (F. O. Seibel, *Richmond Times Dispatch*)

country. You may have reason to be provoked at them, but you can't defeat the Southern Senators and if you defeat the Democrats in the North you will get Republicans instead."

But Roosevelt was unconvinced.

Garner regarded the purge as unwise on two other grounds, he said: the domestic and international situation. The nation was still deep in the depression. The foreign situation became more critical. Hitler moved into and absorbed Austria in March.

Garner said that if there was ever a time in which unity was needed within the party and in the nation, it was now, and he believed Roosevelt, on the advice of what Garner regarded as shortsighted New Dealers, was leading the nation down the paths of division.

Reports again were widespread now that the President and Vice-President were in disagreement. There was no doubt about their incompatibility over the purge, but Garner minimized their differences all he could.

At the azalea festival at Charleston, South Carolina, in April, he said, in response to questions about the split: "I sometimes disagree with my wife and my friends but that does not take away my love and affection for them."

Another time when both he and the President had toothaches the same day, Garner said:

"See how closely we work together."

But there was no doubt now that the purge would be undertaken. In a talk I had with him in his hotel apartment, the Vice-President wondered just what standard of support or nonsupport would determine the Administration's efforts to defeat legislators. First shining mark of the purge, it was understood, was Senator Walter F. George of Georgia.

George had voted for the Emergency Banking Act, N.R.A., A.A.A., T.V.A., relief bills, abrogation of the gold clause, the gold act, the Administration silver bill, emergency air-mail bill, compulsory crop control, regulation of stock exchanges, the commodity exchange bill, Reciprocal Trade acts, the Wagner Labor Relations Act, Social Security and many other Administration-proposed laws. He had opposed the Administration on the St. Lawrence treaty, the Public Utility Holding

Company bill, the Guffey-Snyder Coal bill, the Wages and Hours law and the Supreme Court enlargement bill.

There was little legislation at the 1938 session of Congress other than completing action on the wages and hours and a redrafted farm bill. Senators and Representatives were anxious to get away for their campaigns. The President was anxious to devote his attention to purge efforts. Congress finally adjourned on June 16. It could have got away sooner but for the fact that the Republicans had only fifteen Senators, not enough for manning the conference committees on routine legislation. To suggestions that he hurry, the Vice-President replied:

"We are going to give the minority fair play, so far as I am concerned, no matter how long we have to stay here. I am as anxious to get away as anyone is. I don't know what, with their small membership, they can do about it after they see them, but they are going to have a chance to look at the completed bills. I spent more than half my time here in the minority and I have taken some pretty rough treatment from the Republicans. I am going to give them the consideration I demanded and sometimes did not get."

In July, Roosevelt started his Southern and Western trip to aid his supporters and oppose those who had fallen into his disfavor.

On a torrid June 24, Roosevelt had delivered a fireside chat by radio from the White House laying down conditions under which he said he had every right to take sides in a party primary.

I talked to Garner about the purge before he left for Texas. He said that his hopes of seeing the Democratic party made the permanent dominant party had about evaporated.

"It is not the business of the President of the United States to choose Senators and Representatives in Congress," the Vice-President told me. "He won't succeed. The people of the states will regard it as Presidential arrogance. These men stand well in their party. Their standing is an accumulation of many years of work for their party and their constituents—recognition for the things they have done. The leader of the party ought not to treat them as outcasts.

"They are elected men with responsibility to the people who elected them. An elected officer has his own constituency and his own orbit. He, too, was elected on a platform. He has a loyalty to the President, but it isn't the same sort of blind allegiance some of his own appointees have.

Roosevelt seems to want men to do his bidding, whether appointed or elected. You can't exact intellectual servitude from a self-respecting Senator or Representative.

"The people who have been urging him to use the power of his office to defeat these Senators and Representatives have never been elected to office and most of them could not be. They owe their places solely to Roosevelt and have no standing other than what their relation to him gives them."

Nor was the Vice-President impressed with arguments for a new political alignment.

"It is not a question of making the Democratic party the progressive party," he said. "It has always been the more progressive one. It is a question of the Democratic party or a personal party—a Roosevelt party. It's risky business. When you build around a personality instead of a party program and principles then your party is up Salt Creek when that personality is off the ticket.

"I would like to see the Democratic party remain so strong that it would stay in power at least half the time. I am thinking of the kind of party we will have when Roosevelt is gone, and spending stops. In my opinion the kind of party Roosevelt seems to want to build up would not survive the next election after he was off the ticket.

"This talk about dividing the country into two political camps—one progressive and the other conservative—is all so much stuff. There will always be agitation of this realignment, but in my considered judgment, it will never come. If it did you'd find you'd have a radical and a reactionary party and neither of these could serve the nation. Each of the two parties is in a sense a coalition. Any party to serve the country must be a party of all sorts of views, and through a reconciliation and adjustment of these views you get harmony and a program for good legislation and good administration. The country is neither radical nor reactionary. A party has got to strike a balance.

"There are around forty-five million voters in the country. You've got a bedrock of around fifteen million in each party who will never scratch the party ticket and they serve a great purpose of stability. You have another fifteen million who swing often or occasionally, or go fishing or stay at home on election day, and these fifteen million serve a great purpose, too. That is where you get your changes. No one can

figure a better system than that—a third Democratic, a third Republican and a third independent. Most American people have the same general ideas and concepts. Both the Republican and the Democratic parties are more than eighty years old and are here to stay. No third party has strength for more than one election and this when special conditions have given it a temporary following. The pendulum swings from party to party on personality of candidates or on issues, but at heart the country is always progressive and forward looking.”

The President opened his July tour by speaking for Barkley in Kentucky and Thomas in Oklahoma and both won. In Colorado and Nevada he gave the deep freeze to Senators Adams and McCarren but both won anyway. In California he spoke for McAdoo, but McAdoo was beaten by Sheridan Downey, a newcomer.

The last stages of the purge efforts began with the march through Georgia in August and continued through South Carolina and Maryland. But after much oratory and deep strategy the assaults of the President on his foes was ineffectual; the brain-trust purge program failed everywhere except in one New York Congressional district. Not only had it resulted in practically total failure, it was to lead to big Republican gains in the fall election.

The Republican party got up out of its grave to gain eighty-one House seats, eight Senate seats and eleven governorships. Garner deeply regretted the defeat of some of his close friends, Brown of New Hampshire, Lonergan of Connecticut and Duffey of Wisconsin among them.

The Vice-President returned to Washington in the middle of December after the purge that failed. Roosevelt had requested that he come up early. He had just celebrated his seventieth birthday. He got off the train, his muscles hard, his hair rumpled and his face still glowing with summer tan. He distributed fat cigars to Senators who came to see him, talked party harmony. He hoped Roosevelt would assume leadership of the whole party. He had said:

“Roosevelt isn’t leading the whole party, only the left-wing faction.”

While he was away, the Texas Democratic state convention, made up of 1,400 delegates, had unanimously endorsed him for President. It was a nice honor, but Garner was not thinking in terms of White House residence.

Garner, who once said he worked a ninety-hour week, spent about the busiest day he ever had in Washington that day.

He saw numerous Senators, individually and in groups, National Chairman Farley and President Roosevelt.

Senators talked to him about legislation to curb the President's powers and about reports of Presidential plans to appoint radical lame ducks to high executive offices. They fumed that relief funds had been used to aid Roosevelt's friends and scourge his foes.

A group of Senators told him they wanted a chance to consider and to either repeal or modify some of the "emergency powers" which the President had been given over a six-year period. They were, for the most part, powers which no President had ever had. Most of them actually were legislative powers.

The President had discretionary power, with very slight limitations, over relief, farm benefits and other funds. He could devalue the dollar, issue three billion in greenbacks, decree the free and unlimited coinage of silver, fix the value of silver at any ratio of gold he saw fit, could operate a stabilization fund of two billions and the method of his management was not subject to review, and he could prescribe the rules and regulations under which gold could be acquired, transported, melted or treated, exported or imported. He could suspend any stock exchange for ninety days. He could raise or lower by 50 per cent any tariff imposed by the United States.

Garner readily admitted that Roosevelt had been given powers which perhaps he never should have had and which could be returned to Congress now. He was for Congress recapturing these powers or for the President voluntarily giving them back. These feelings, he said, he would convey to the President.

He emphasized, however, that he felt that both the President and Congress would have to make concessions. He wanted his party to carry the political ball. He said he would use any influence he had to prevent an alliance between "conservative" Democrats and Republicans. Senator McNary, the minority leader, and Senator Vandenberg of Michigan were reported to be promoting such an alliance.

"If I were in the place of McNary and Vandenberg, I would suggest an alliance, too," Garner said. "The only people who would benefit by it would be the Republican party. I have made some forays to the

Republican side to acquire votes but I never liked to have them come wooing on my side of the aisle. The party isn't going to get anywhere with Senators taking cracks at Roosevelt and Roosevelt taking swings at Senators. It can only give comfort to the Republican party. We still have a large majority in Congress, but it is not a *New Deal* majority."

Jim Farley came in for the longest conference he and Garner had ever held. Garner occupied a political position in addition to the Vice-Presidency. He was Democratic national committeeman from Texas and vice-chairman of the Democratic national committee.

Farley was smarting under cavalier treatment he had received during the campaign. Both he and Garner had opposed the purge, both felt that Roosevelt's listening to the Hopkins-Corcoran group had brought the party close to disaster, both feared the party's chances of success in 1940 were being tossed away.

Garner then went to the White House for a blunt discussion with the President. He unburdened himself in what was to be his last great effort to get his President and his party together.

Roosevelt first talked about the election. One by one he computed the Democratic losses and for each repulse he ascribed local conditions. Garner disagreed with Roosevelt's assessment of the situation, but told him that—conceding he was right—the facts of the Congressional life would have to be faced.

"Eighty-one Republicans will sit in the House and eight in the Senate in seats where Democrats sat and either supported or acquiesced in legislation you proposed," he said. "Most Senators and Representatives are not interpreting the results the way you are and legislators sometimes perform in accordance with their interpretation of election returns."

Garner said that the Democrats who had been successful were overwhelmingly those classed as "conservative" and that with nearly a hundred Democrats removed from the Congressional ranks, conditions were ripe for a coalition. He urged the President to recognize that he had lost legislators in the election and would lose more on roll calls.

Roosevelt thought conditions were still so critical that he needed his monetary and other powers, but was willing to see some restrictions written into methods of expending relief money.

Garner told the President also that some concessions would have to be made on appointments requiring Senate confirmation. The Vice-President said again that more leeway in writing legislation should be given Congress and less prepared legislation sent up.

"The boys have started to read the fine print in them," he said jocularly, referring to the bills sent up from the executive offices.

Later Garner was to learn that his errand at the White House that day was fruitless. After an election which Garner, Congress and apparently the country construed as a victory for the right, Roosevelt turned further to the left. Garner soon was convinced that the President wanted no peace with the party moderates and conservatives and had no intention of considering their viewpoint in legislative matters. That day, December 18, 1938, was the last long private discussion the President and Vice-President had in the White House office. Thereafter when Garner saw Roosevelt it was in the presence of the Speaker of the House and the majority leaders of Senate and House or at Cabinet meetings.

The Board of Education had been dismantled by Garner months before. Except for the wages and hours bill, no New Deal legislation had got through in the second term. But the graveyard of New Deal proposals was not in the Senate. It was in the House of Representatives.

Chronologically the relations of the two most powerful Democrats in the nation, the President and the Vice-President, probably had these divisions:

(1) The first four years when Garner, as legislative tactician, accelerated the recovery program and actually had only one serious disagreement with Roosevelt: the recognition of Russia, where he felt that Litvinoff outmaneuvered Roosevelt and obtained a soft recognition denied by the Wilson and succeeding administrations. These four years ended with each having great affection for the other.

(2) The somber first two years of the second term, which saw the party disagreements over such issues as the sit-down strike, the Supreme Court enlargement fiasco and the unsuccessful efforts to purge Democrats who did not go along with his entire program. From these Roosevelt and Garner emerged with less warmth than in their previous relations.

(3) The last two years which saw them in almost constant

disagreement. The shocks to their amicable relations in these two years came so rapidly that it was difficult to divide them. From Garner's standpoint the reasons were: bigger-than-ever spending proposals; use of relief funds for political purposes; what Garner thought was Roosevelt's complete left-wing swing and the direction he was taking the party; Roosevelt's ever greater ambitions for personal power; what Garner regarded as coddling of Communists and fellow-travelers and their infiltration into the government; and disagreements over executive nominations.

Events of the next few weeks after the December 18 conversations gave a surface appearance of extreme cordiality between the President and Vice-President. Between the time of his White House visit and the opening of Congress, all pre-Congressional activity centered around the Vice-Presidential suite. So many Executive department administrators waited their turn outside his door that word got around town that "Garner is the man to see." There was evidence that the Administration wanted him to have full information on its proposed legislative program and his frank opinion of its chances for success.

Anyone with a problem made a beeline to the Vice-President's office in the Capitol. For days he gave himself over to such interviews and attempts to reconcile conflicting viewpoints. His list of appointments grew longer daily. He saw not only Senators, Representatives and Cabinet members, but everybody else of importance to the party who wished the hospitality of his office.

Leading the trek to Garner's office was Harry L. Hopkins, who a week before had resigned as W.P.A. administrator and had received a recess appointment as Secretary of Commerce. Senate confirmation of Hopkins, an erstwhile business baiter, to his new station, the business post in the Cabinet, was uncertain.

The appropriation Congress had made for W.P.A. for the year had been used up. Hopkins had been accused of using relief money to influence elections and the Senatorial investigation had borne out the accusations. At election time there had been 3,262,000 persons on W.P.A. rolls, the peak that agency reached during its existence.

Henry Wallace came as Hopkins left and spent two hours discussing the bogged-down agricultural program. The country had raised too much wheat that year; tobacco and rice farmers had refused to

accept marketing programs proposed by the Agricultural Department.

The session of Congress which opened on January 3, 1939, was destined to give Franklin D. Roosevelt his roughest legislative ride. Before it adjourned eight months later, on August 5, the President's influence with it had been reduced to nil.

In his Jackson Day speech on January 9, 1939, the President came out for unity—but his prescription for concord was that those who disagreed with his policies cease their opposition or join the Republican party.

He followed this by a series of appointments of New Deal lame ducks to key positions. The appointments found a hostile atmosphere. Touching off a series of explosions was the President's effort to punish venerable Senator Carter Glass. Because of Glass's opposition to parts of his program the President took his patronage away and conferred it on Governor Price of Virginia. Glass was old now, but he indomitably fought back. The Senate took Glass's side on a federal Judge nomination and rejected it by a near vote.

The nomination which the Senate regarded as a defiance was that of Thomas R. Amlie, radical lame-duck Representative from Wisconsin, to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Immediately both Houses of the Wisconsin legislature passed resolutions asking the President to withdraw the nomination.

Amlie denied being a Communist but he had asserted that "capitalism is not worth saving." He advocated the scrapping of the capitalistic economy of the United States in favor of a production-for-use system in which a great central federal corporation would take over the control and operation of 75 per cent of the nation's productive machinery. The Amlie nomination was finally withdrawn by the President.

Another point of disagreement between the President and Vice-President at this time was amendments to the Wagner Labor Act. When this law was passed hurriedly in 1935, it was agreed it would have to be amended but that no step toward amendment would be taken until the Supreme Court had had opportunity to pass on its validity. The Supreme Court decision declaring it constitutional had come down two years since and still nothing had been done.

"We had to have labor legislation," Garner said. "There is no doubt some corporations were oppressing labor. All experimental legislation

has to be amended and the Democratic party, which is the friend of labor, should amend this. There are features of this law which have the effect of making this a government by bias. I don't want to abridge any of labor's rights, but all people in this country should be subject to the same laws. There should be no statutory exceptions. The Wagner Act has been interpreted and administered in a way to prevent normal discussion between employer and employee."

After their three-hour discussion on December 18, Garner thought Roosevelt was agreeable to amendment and Barkley had indicated as much after talking to the President.

But amendment proposals got nowhere. The House passed legislation, but it was bottled up in the Senate Labor Committee and no action ever was taken until the House and Senate passed the Taft-Hartley act over a Presidential veto in 1947.

With his relations with Congress at an all-time low, Roosevelt prepared to swing in behind a lend-lease, pump-priming, planned-inflation program. The amount to be asked was nebulous but astronomical in the first trial balloons sent up. It might, the intimations were, reach \$5,000,000,000.

Reports flew around that Garner was against the plan. He was. On April 12, Roosevelt took notice of the widespread reports that there were strong differences between the Vice-President and himself over recovery methods. Edgy and irritated, the President told a press conference that recently published stories of a dispute with the Vice-President were falsifications out of the whole cloth.

The President was especially disturbed about the circulation of a parable recited by the Vice-President.

"Down in our country," the Vice-President was quoted as saying, "when cattle are grazing and taking on fat we don't bother them too much and we don't scare them. We ought to have as much consideration for human beings as we do for cattle."

Although this quotation did not get into circulation until April, he had made substantially this statement to the President in the preceding December. He was trying to illustrate his point that there had been so many recovery methods started and stopped or switched that the nation never got a chance to recuperate and come back to

health. He said that he believed if the people were left alone they would begin to produce and get out of the depression.

The lend-spend bill was not sent to the Capitol until July. In its final form it provided loans up to a limit of \$2,390,000,000, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was to be authorized to issue notes, debentures, bonds and other obligations of a maturity not to exceed thirty years. No one was left out of the planned-inflation largess. State, county and municipal public works; tenant farmers; farm laborers and sharecroppers; rural electrification and reclamation were among eligible beneficiaries.

But when the plan finally appeared, one feature of it attracted more attention than the recommended money outlay. The President said in a letter to the Senate Appropriations Committee:

"There seems to be no reason why there should not be adopted as a permanent policy of government the development of maintenance of a revolving fund fed from the earnings of these government investments and used to finance new projects when there is need of extra stimulus of employment."

Garner saw in this bill a spender's paradise, with its provisions for by-passing Congressional appropriations committees, the budget and the Treasury—a socialization of credit.

"This bill in some particulars is the worst that has come up here," he said. "It gives the President discretion to spend billions where he wants to, how he wants to and when he wants to. It is another step away from constitutional government and toward personal government. No money ought to be spent except that which Congress appropriates each year."

The federal government at that time had a charge account of \$38,000,000,000 and at that time Garner said he never had a personal charge account in his life.

He told his close friend, John D. Ewing, Louisiana newspaper publisher:

"I never had a charge account and got no first-of-the-month bills other than utilities."

The lend-spend proposal lost ground steadily. The Senate passed a version of it. The House kicked it out. By a vote of 193 to 167 it refused even to take it up for debate.

Stress now began to be put on national defense. Congress in its appropriations granted all national-defense requests, totaling \$2,000,000,000. As the fiscal year 1939 ended and emphasis began to be put on expenditures for possible future war instead of for relief, there were still 6,630,000 households representing 19,650,000 persons receiving relief or employment on federal works and even that was taking care of only half of the unemployed.

At the last Cabinet meeting before leaving for home at the end of Congress, Garner again urged the cessation of shipments of petroleum, scrap and other war materials to war-like Japan. The President and Secretary Hull doubted we could do it alone and were not sure that Great Britain would act with us. The United States and Great Britain had been acting in concert in that theater for two years.

"I never thought a white man ought to sell scalping knives to Indians," Garner said of our exportation of these war materials to the Nipponese.

Garner's political star rose in 1939, as the President's hold on Congress sagged into impotency. The Vice-President was the man the tourists wanted to see at the Capitol. He was the man the politicians wanted to see. He had risen to a place as a legislative factor reached by only two other men in modern times, the two great Speakers, Thomas B. Reed and Joseph G. Cannon. Although he maintained self-imposed silence, "leaks" made him the symbol of opposition to the course Roosevelt was taking.

The Vice-President by now was receiving hundreds of letters each week telling him he was the hope of the country, urging that he stand for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Stop Garner

JOHN NANCE GARNER abhorred even the idea of a third term for any President of the United States.

But it was strictly an academic abhorrence at the time I first heard him discuss it. He had no idea the issue would arise. Certainly he had no idea that he would be cast in the role of the only high elected officer in the nation standing alone in an unsuccessful effort to prevent a third-term Presidential nomination in his own party.

On any matter of public policy, Garner always had an explicit judgment, not merely a casual notion. On the tenure of federal office-holders his opinion was fixed and positive. He told me his views in one of those Sunday evening gatherings at his hotel apartment in Washington which were sometimes heterogeneous, sometimes homogeneous and sometimes very intimate affairs.

"I believe in life tenure for Judges, with retirement provisions adequate to induce withdrawal from the bench of Judges of advanced age, or disability," he said.

"I favor long service for members of the legislative branch, their constituencies willing. The two-year term for Representatives and six-year term for Senators gives their constituencies a chance to retire them or continue them on the records they have made. In a body as numerous as a legislative one only in extended incumbency can a man gain leadership and be in position to render the greatest service.

"I believe in rotation in the office of President. The four-year term cannot be improved on. No poor President ought to stay more than four years and the best of Presidents should not hold on more than two four-year terms. A President, any President, weak or strong, is in position to exercise great power from the first breath he draws after

taking the oath of office until he leaves that office. No man should exercise the great powers of the Presidency too long. My idea of a President is that of a citizen of ripe experience and sound patriotism who would fill this most powerful office in all the world for four or eight years and then go back and be a citizen just as George Washington did."

His opposition to undue prolongation of the executive tenure and his espousal of long service in the legislative branch was the result of experience. During his service in Washington, seven Presidents had occupied the White House. In that time also he had seen a complete turnover in the Supreme Court and in almost the entire federal judiciary; and there was not a face in the Senate which had been there when he came to Washington, but three of his first-term House colleagues—Norris of Nebraska, Glass of Virginia and Sheppard of Texas—had moved over to the Senate.

Garner realized as any student of politics does that a good politician in the White House can always bring about his own renomination. He said to me:

"You can't beat the head of the party in the White House for renomination if he wants renomination. There may be opposition to his renomination, even the majority of his party may think it is unwise. But how under our present system of nomination is the opposition going to be effective? He is the head of the federal hierarchy and thousands of appointive and well-paid jobholders look to him for their own continuance in office. National, state and perhaps even county officeholders ride into office on the strength of the head of the ticket. No candidate can contest a President of his party, man against man. He must contest the head of his party and the most powerful office in the world.

"Heads of party machines can oppose him only at their own political peril. In these days of federal aid and subsidies it is easy to put relief, farm benefits and other government largess in places where they will do the most political good. All this is water on the wheel of the machines which are expected to turn in majorities. The munitions of these machines are jobs and money and nowadays it is federal jobs and federally appropriated money.

"The President of the United States has a sounding board and vehicles for making public opinion which are available to no other

official on earth. The whole people voting in an election may defeat him, but for the renomination in his party there is just one effective check against him and that is the self-restraint of the President himself."

Although he had twice received nominations at the hands of national conventions and had been a delegate to four—at Kansas City in 1900, St. Louis in 1904 and 1916 and at New York in 1924—Garner believed conventions had become less and less responsive to the wishes of the rank and file and progressively more easily manipulated by a few men. After the Madison Square Garden fiasco, which he left in disgust, he advocated preconvention primaries, followed by state conventions and a national convention.

He had said:

"No Presidential candidate in either party ever has fully used the primaries there are. The tendency has been for the candidate to enter only those primaries he is relatively sure he can win. I would like to see a Presidential-preference primary held in every state in the Union on the same day. All candidates ought to have to announce their candidacies and enter all primaries. Even some clear-cut issues might be put on the primary ballot for an advisory referendum.

"The primaries, of course, would not be conclusive. The national convention would have to give weight to certain factors. A candidate whose primary showing indicated his strength in key electoral states might receive more consideration than one who had carried smaller or less doubtful states. It is not likely that in a field of candidates anyone could carry a majority of all the states in a primary. Then, there would be the Vice-Presidential nomination and the platform and the advertising which a convention gives to the nominees and the party's pledges. But the delegates from the states would know the sentiment of the people in the states."

The second term was at its midway point before he gave any thought at all about either Roosevelt or himself being a possible Presidential candidate in 1940. Roosevelt had told him immediately after the 1937 inauguration that he never intended to be a candidate again for any public office, and reiteration of this intention by the President at the Victory Dinner of the Democratic party on March 4, 1937, was taken by Garner as the final word on the matter.

The Vice-President's first discussion with anyone on the direct



Garner in 1939 took the lead in bringing about repeal of the embargo clause of neutrality act, which he had opposed when it was enacted. (C. K. Berryman, *Washington Star*)

question of whether Roosevelt might or might not run again was with Harry L. Hopkins, and Hopkins brought the subject up on a visit to Garner's office while his nomination for Secretary of Commerce was pending in the Senate early in 1939. Hopkins was being assailed as the nominee for the business post in the Cabinet on the grounds that he was "anti-business." This bias Hopkins denied to Garner.

"Hopkins brought up the question of a third term for Roosevelt and I told him if it was a possibility I was strictly against it," the Vice-President said. "Hopkins said he was, too, and he didn't think Roosevelt had any idea of running.

"Then Hopkins said: 'I would like to be President of the United States sometime.' I asked him to tell me something of his background. He related that his father was a harnessmaker and told me of his youthful struggle to get ahead. I said: 'Harry, you have a right to

aspire to any office in this land, including the highest one. That is what our institutions and our way of life guarantee. You've got a following. I don't think so much of some of it, but you've got it."

When Garner related this conversation to me, I asked him:

"Did you tell Hopkins you would support him?"

"No," he replied, "but he might be better than Roosevelt in some ways. There wouldn't be as much spending. Although he is just as anxious to spend as Roosevelt, he wouldn't have much influence with Congress. Roosevelt is persuasive and a hard man to resist."

Afterward, Garner told me that Marvin McIntyre, one of Roosevelt's secretaries, had told him he was sure the President had no intention of seeking a third term. Garner did not know whether McIntyre spoke from knowledge or whether it was conjecture, but he thought Hopkins spoke from knowledge and Garner put full credence in it.

I suggested that Hopkins might have been feeling him out, but he did not think so.

Support for Garner for President in 1940 first began to manifest itself in 1938. In September of that year the Texas state Democratic convention unanimously endorsed him as Roosevelt's successor in the White House.

About the same time Senator Edward R. Burke of Nebraska said Garner was his 1940 Presidential choice. Burke had once been strong at the White House.

Some Western progressives had even urged Burke as the Roosevelt running mate in 1936 if Garner retired. But Burke opposed the Supreme Court enlargement bill in 1937 and incurred the enmity of the President.

The next move toward the Presidential nomination for Garner came at his log-cabin birthplace on Blossom Prairie in December 1938. A statewide gathering there launched a "Garner-in-1940" boom. By this time the purge had failed, the Democrats had suffered a severe loss in strength in the November election and by all visible appearances Roosevelt's political fortunes were in a feeble state.

From the date of the Victory Dinner in 1937, the preponderance of public and private discussion had supported the feeling that Roosevelt intended to retire. In July 1938, Governor Earle of Pennsylvania suggested that the President be a candidate for a third term. When reporters at the next press conference of the President asked him to

comment on Earle's statement, the President told them they had better put on dunce caps and stand in the corner. These questions, however, continued to be asked at nearly every Presidential press conference for almost two years.

Garner was now in his seventy-first year. He didn't look it and said he didn't feel it. He had no doubt of his physical fitness for any task.

By January 1939, Garner was getting pretty hot as a Presidential prospect. All the polls were showing him leading if Roosevelt did not run. As Garner was adhering to the policy he announced on becoming Vice-President and making no statements of any kind, some of my colleagues in the press gallery asked me if I knew what his attitude was.

At the first opportunity I talked to him and asked him the direct question: whether he would take the nomination if it came to him. His reply I considered as being on the same basis as most of my other conversations with him—confidential—and I so treated it.

In the conversation he said:

"I don't want to be President. I did not want to be in 1932 and I don't want to now. I did not ask anyone to support me in 1932 and I will not be in the position of asking anyone to seek a delegate for me now, and if they follow my wishes no one will. But to answer your question directly: It is all right to talk about General Sherman's statement that he would not accept a nomination as President, if it was offered or serve if elected. There was more in his letter to Blaine than that. It is the great classic statement on why men who are soldiers by education and nature and fitted to render great service to their country in military matters are not schooled in the practice in which civil communities should be governed, why a military man should refuse the office and why no civilian who has the qualifications for the office can refuse it.

"The Presidency is the hardest job in the world and the highest honor and greatest obligation that can come to any American. If you have not connived in or abetted any effort in your behalf; if you really do not care for the office and the nomination comes to you because your party and your country think you fitted for its duties, it

is your duty to accept and serve. But I don't think I will be nominated and I don't want to be."

Garner said that he felt at the time that the nomination was between Hull, Farley and himself and that left to its natural inclinations the party would nominate one of them. He added he would like to see Jesse Jones considered rather than himself.

"If I had the matter in my hands and nothing but the good of the country and the success of the Democratic party to consider I would choose between Hull, Jones and Farley for our Presidential candidate."

Of Hull he said:

"I think Cordell would make a good President. Roosevelt would be more likely to support him than anyone who could get the nomination. I could support Hull with enthusiasm."

Of Jones he said:

"Jesse Jones I put at the top of the list of all administrative officials during my time in Washington. More than anyone I have known he rises above red tape. Yet he does things according to law. He has a head full of sense and the confidence of the country. I think he would poll more independent votes than any other candidate we could nominate."

Of Farley he said:

"Farley is the greatest political organizer I have ever seen. There would be opposition to the nomination of a Catholic President. But as a candidate he would not have the handicaps of Al Smith. Prohibition and Tammany would not figure in it as in the case of Smith. Also the Republicans were in power when Smith was nominated and the Democrats will go into the next election with the record of having carried forty-six out of the forty-eight states in the last election. Farley has not had the government experience of some others, but he has grown. He is dependable in all things."

One of the most ardent Garner backers was Richard W. Norton, a Texas and Louisiana oil man. Of all the Garner supporters, Norton was the only one who from the first felt sure that Roosevelt would seek a third term.

"Why, he is panting to run," Norton had been saying as early as the autumn of 1938. "He is already running. That is what the purge was all about."

By March the Garner campaign had picked up real momentum. The four months—March, April, May and June—saw the whole Democratic picture more clearly drawn. The first Garner impetus came when both Houses of the Texas legislature endorsed him in a statement which declared in part:

“John Nance Garner is hereby endorsed and put forward as a candidate for the nomination of the high office of President of the United States, which we believe he would fill with ability and distinction.”

Almost simultaneously former Governors Ely of Massachusetts and Hodges of Kansas announced for Garner and a surprise Garner recruit was Henry Ford.

“Jack Garner would make a mighty fine President,” the automobile manufacturer said in a newspaper interview. “He’s got a mighty fine record. He’s on the spot. He knows what’s going on. He’s got the experience. As things are, I don’t think you could make a better choice.”

In March, the Gallup poll, asking the question: “If Roosevelt is not a candidate, whom would you like to see elected President in 1940?” got the following response from Democrats:

Garner	42 per cent
Hull	10 per cent
Farley	10 per cent
Hopkins	8 per cent
McNutt	5 per cent

Twenty-five per cent had no opinion or their votes were for candidates other than the five listed.

On March 31, Raymond Clapper in a syndicated newspaper column said:

“There is still time to stop Garner, but not very much. Garner now has behind him for the Democratic nomination the same kind of public momentum Alf Landon had for the Republican nomination in 1936 long in advance of the convention.”

The Clapper story was a bugle call for the New Dealers, who were always people to be impressed by a headline or a column item. The “Stop-Garner” campaign began immediately.

A week later a preview of the 1940 Democratic Presidential situa-

tion among fifty leading Washington correspondents in *Newsweek* showed that seventeen believed Garner would be the nominee; Cordell Hull was the pick of ten of them, Roosevelt of eleven, with the others scattering.

On the day the poll was printed, Garner said convincingly that if he could do what he wanted to he would box up his souvenirs, ship them to Uvalde and spend the rest of his days there.

"You get peace and quiet and a chance to think down there," he said. "A man can tend to his chickens and go fishing and watch the water flow by under the shade of the trees. Here everything is turmoil."

In late April, Harry Hopkins announced from Warm Springs, after talking to Roosevelt, that he was changing his residence from New York to Iowa. If Roosevelt had any New Deal crown prince under consideration as his favorite for the 1940 nomination at that time, most politicians believed it was Hopkins. Garner himself felt this way, but said that despite Roosevelt's own great popularity he could never swing a Democratic convention to Hopkins.

Some politicians, however, thought the change of address might mean he had Hopkins in view for his Vice-Presidential running mate. The Constitution bars Presidential electors from any state voting for both a President and Vice-President resident in the same state with themselves; and New York electors could not vote for both Roosevelt for President and Hopkins for Vice-President had both of them been residents of New York.

In May the "Draft Roosevelt" plan was being pushed by left-wing Roosevelt appointees. Hopkins, who a few months before had told Garner he opposed a third Roosevelt nomination, was directing it and Tom Corcoran apparently was second in command. Corcoran was recovering from an operation at Johns Hopkins and Harry Hopkins found it necessary to go to Mayo's, but they had plenty of assistance at headquarters in the Interior Department.

On May 7, Charles Michaelson, publicity director for the Democratic national committee, took occasion in a national committee release to deny any feud between the President and Vice-President. All talk of the "seething fury of their differences, is Republican propaganda," he said.

Garner himself said to me about this time:

"So far as I know we are personally on good terms. He is a pleasant, fascinating man. But you can have affable dealing with a man and disagree with the way he performs as a public official. We are not in accord on some of our theories of government. I have been disappointed with the turn things have taken in his second term. He is getting authority to spend too much money, he has too much power and is continually asking for more. He has and wants to retain the discretion to create boards and commissions and agencies which can make laws—or at least regulations with all the authority of law—and to do things I think only Congress ought to have the right to do.

"He has changed in office. He does not delegate. His nature is to want to do everything himself. He does not take a long-range view and continually improvises. There is great waste and inefficiency in administration. Some of the things he does appear to me intended more to create a favorable political effect for him than to aid the country. There is no use to pretend personal relations with a man are as pleasant when you disagree with him on policies as when you agree and are working together in a common cause, but I don't think there is personal discord between us."

The May Gallup poll, at the end of two months of "Stop-Garner" effort saw Garner jump to 50 per cent, a gain of 8 per cent.

On May 11, Earl Browder, general secretary and 1936 Presidential candidate of the Communist party, told the annual convention of the Young Communist League in New York that the Communist party would support President Roosevelt for a third term.

The Workers Alliance convened in a government building, the Labor Department Auditorium on June 3. On June 6, it adopted a "Stop-Garner" resolution and on the same day at the Capitol a Democratic special House committee, headed by Representative Woodrum of Virginia, investigating Administration work relief, entered into the record that Communists held a majority of the membership on the national executive committee of the Alliance, that 90 per cent of its dues-paying members were Communists and that Herbert Benjamin, secretary-treasurer of the Alliance had received a course of training in Moscow for the hunger strike he led on Washington.

Cordiality among high Democrats was not increased when, on the

day following, Mrs. Roosevelt addressed the Alliance, was made an honorary member and left the platform with an armful of flowers.

At the end of May the "draft-Roosevelt" movement was seemingly making little progress. In Congress, Roosevelt was meeting rebuffs all along the line except on appropriations for national defense. Most politicians apparently felt that barring a war psychology, Roosevelt, handicapped by the third-term issue, would be weaker than Garner or Hull. Many influential Democratic leaders privately were expressing themselves against a third term, but Mayor Kelly of Chicago, Governor Olson of California and Guffey and Earle of Pennsylvania were openly for a third term.

Harold Ickes prepared an article for publication in the June issue of *Look Magazine* demanding that the President stand for a third term. On its appearance the President in no public way rebuked Ickes for the article.

Harry Hopkins at Grinnell, Iowa, whence he had gone to go through the formality of changing his residence from New York, on June 16 issued a statement declaring for Roosevelt for a third term.

The Democratic membership of the Senate, if cloakroom conversation and its past voting record was an indicator, was overwhelmingly against a third term in 1939. The Senate in 1927 had adopted the anti-third-term resolution sponsored by the younger Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin. At that time it was believed Calvin Coolidge might offer for nomination. The La Follette resolution read:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our Republican form of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." The roll call showed fifty-six Senators voting for the La Follette resolution. Twenty-four of these men were still in the Senate when the Roosevelt third-term campaign was on. Among them were: George, Gerry, Glass, Harrison, Ashurst, Barkley, Hayden, King, McKellar, Neeley, Pittman, Sheppard, Smith, Thomas of Oklahoma, Tydings, Wagner and Wheeler. Also still in the Senate were La Follette, author

of the resolution, and Norris of Nebraska, both of whom had supported Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936.

The Democrats had a long list of party positions against the third term, including the very explicit one of 1896, which read:

"We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years and sanctified by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible to a third term in the Presidential office."

The House of Representatives, in the only time the matter had been squarely before it, in 1875, had voted 233 to 38 against breaking the two-term tradition.

A newspaper report a few months after the third-term efforts began said that twenty-eight Senators had pledged their support to Garner and against a third term. There was no such group action, although at least that many individual Senators encouraged his candidacy and many did pledge support. Garner had a big cheering section of Senators, Representatives, Governors and other major officeholders. They encouraged his candidacy to him in private, but most of them remained silent in public.

Public statements expressing opposition to a third term or in support of other candidates rather than Roosevelt were made by Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia, Adams of Colorado, James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois, Smith of South Carolina, Johnson of Colorado, George of Georgia, Sheppard and Connally of Texas, Clark of Missouri, Van Nuys of Indiana, Gillette and Herring of Iowa, Tydings of Maryland, Walsh of Massachusetts, Andrews of Florida and Overton of Louisiana in addition to the earlier statements of Burke, Logan and McCarran. Senator Vic Donahey of Ohio, at least privately opposed a third term.

In June, a Garner-for-President campaign committee, under the direction of Texas Democratic State Chairman Eugene Germany and Texas Democratic National Committeewoman Clara Driscoll, began to function in Texas. Germany, in announcing the organization, said that Texas would put Garner in nomination regardless of who else ran. The "regardless" could mean no one except Roosevelt. To the rabid Roosevelt officeholders this was *lese majesty*. But Garner

backers said a Presidential candidacy required neither apology or explanation. Both Germany and Miss Driscoll were at pains to say that it was "strictly a pro-Garner and not an anti-Roosevelt movement."

Garner told me he was beginning to think Roosevelt wanted the situation explored and that if he could get the nomination in an acceptable way, he would run. An "acceptable way" he described as being without too much of a convention fight and the likelihood of an even or better than even chance of winning the election. (After he left office, Garner told me, piecing together all the information he had, he felt that Roosevelt had made up his mind to run in June 1939.)

"You can draw your own deductions from his actions," the Vice-President said. "I think you will agree that he does not detest the idea of a third term. If he did he would call these people off. They are on the federal payroll, under his direction, and they would discontinue their activity if he showed the slightest displeasure. I don't think there is any public demand for him to run yet, but it can be created by exactly the methods that are being pursued."

I asked him jestingly why he didn't ask Roosevelt if his previous statement to him that he did not intend to run still went.

"There is no reason for that. Anyway, I don't see him alone any more," Garner replied. "It is always either in a Cabinet meeting or with the legislative leaders. He quit inviting me for luncheons at his desk after the polls began showing me high up in the list of his possible successors. I am not responsible for that—I'm not conducting the polls but they've stopped my luncheon invitations."

In more serious vein Garner said he thought Roosevelt was a very jealous man, did not like it because he thought the Vice-President was popular at the Capitol and could not be very cordial with anyone who had been so much as mentioned as the Democratic Presidential candidate.

After he went out of office, Mr. Garner told me that the invitations to luncheon ceased more than a year before the 1940 Democratic national convention. He said Roosevelt, however, continued his practice of giving the Vice-President Christmas remembrances through the Christmas of 1939.

Garner and Farley had another talk about this time. The Vice-

President told me none of the details. Farley at the time had just talked to Roosevelt and many months afterward revealed that Roosevelt had again told him that he would not run for a third term. He had sworn Farley to secrecy, the Postmaster General later said. Farley went off to Europe after his confab with Garner. He thought perhaps by the time he returned Roosevelt would make a statement taking himself out of the race. Garner was beginning to doubt it very seriously.

The torrid issue about this time was the Hatch act. This measure authored by Senator Hatch of New Mexico, the late Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas and Senator Warren Austin, recently the United States representative on the United Nations, was the outgrowth of the Sheppard committee's denunciation of W.P.A.'s use of relief funds for political purposes in the 1938 election.

Starting out as a modest measure to prevent the exploitation of relief workers by political bosses and candidates, it wound up as an all-inclusive prohibition of political activity by federal employees. More than a majority of the convention which renominated Roosevelt and Garner in 1936 had been made up of postmasters, United States marshals, internal-revenue collectors and other federal officeholders or their close relatives.

Garner backed the Hatch bill and the Administration threw every possible obstacle in its path. On July 12, the Garner campaign committee announced it would follow the principles of the Hatch act whether it became a law or not.

The Senate in a wild thirteen-hour session finally passed the bill on July 21. The President took the full constitutional time to consider it. Administrative aids said he was searching for one good, unassailable reason to veto it. Evidently the search failed. The President signed the bill, but accompanied his signature with a unique message to Congress interpreting the new law.

Garner told me at the time that while any President could renominate himself, any President would find difficulty in naming his successor. He thought the Hatch act might prevent an officeholder's oligarchy controlling Presidential succession by letting the President name his successor-nominee.

The army of federal employees had increased from 563,487 to 932,654

between the time Roosevelt came in and the passage of the Hatch act. Of these, 300,000 were outside the Civil Service.

Garner later admitted the Hatch act failed its purpose. It was soon apparent that the federal officeholders' machine would select the delegates even if the law prevented them from being delegates themselves. Apparent violations of the law were winked at. Third-termers on the federal payroll went on unmolested with their campaign. "You can't write any law that will be enforced if the executive branch does not want to enforce it," Garner said.

On July 28, John L. Lewis, appearing before the House Labor Committee on amendments to the wage-hour act, attacked the Vice-President as a "labor-baiting, poker-playing, whisky-drinking, evil old man."

The attack was no surprise to Garner. He believed that Lewis had been gunning for him since the Vice-President had urged vigorous action against the then Lewis-headed C.I.O. Automobile Workers Union in its 1937 sit-down strike. Garner had also backed the Byrnes resolution condemning the sit-down strikes.

Lewis at this time was very close to left-wing promoters of the Roosevelt draft and—although he was eventually to bolt Roosevelt's third-term race—at the time he attacked Garner he had access to the New Deal inner circle. He also had tossed \$500,000 into the Democratic campaign jackpot in 1936.

Garner merely chuckled when reporters asked him to comment on Lewis' Thespian performance. In his hotel sitting room he said:

"There has never been anything that caused me more happiness than Lewis' outburst. I think the majority of the people will think that anyone Lewis can't control is all right."

Then on the general subject of attacks and criticism he said:

"A public man is judged by his record and not by what people may say about him from time to time. Criticism brings a public man to the attention of the public and gives people a chance to analyze his record. When the criticism has merit it is helpful. When it has no merit it is of no effect."

“I Will Accept the Nomination”

HIS years of association with Franklin D. Roosevelt had not convinced Vice-President Garner that the President possessed traits which would make him the best war leader if this country entered the war.

As a matter of fact, Garner thought that if we were drawn into war Roosevelt's desire to do everything both on the military and civilian fronts might be a definite handicap to our conduct of it.

War talk was becoming general throughout the country in the mid-summer of 1939 and I asked the Vice-President what effect it would have on the Democratic nomination and if it would improve Roosevelt's chances. At that time there were no announced candidates.

“Of course, it would furnish the needed talking point for the people who are trying to win a third term for him,” Garner said. “I don't think war is inevitable. I have never heard Roosevelt or anyone else say that it is. God knows, I hope we don't get into another one. These European wars never seem to settle anything. They unsettle. Every war there seems to create the necessity of another one. A war now would be the most wasteful and costly in history. We would probably have to do most of the fighting and pay most of the money costs.

“I am against a third term whether there is war in Europe and the Orient or not. There are many men of capacity in the Democratic party. If war comes and we stay out of it our interest will be in bringing about a just peace. Any President backed by the might of this country can be effective in that way. If we go to war, whoever is President, the nation will commit its total resources—human, produc-

tion, money and credit—to the effort and will fight it hard and bring it to a conclusion as quickly as possible.”

Roosevelt, Garner said, did not make good use of men in peace and might have the same failing in war.

“He wants to be his own Secretary of State, his own Secretary of the Treasury, his own Secretary of War and, especially, his own Secretary of Navy now,” he said.

The most extended talk I ever had with Mr. Garner on the third term occurred shortly after this, on August 4, 1939. He was preparing to leave for Texas and was in the fine humor he always was when he was ready to board a train for home. A delegation of Senators, headed by Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, had just presented him with a wicker chair for use on his Uvalde sun porch.

“I’ve thought a great deal about this third-term situation and my relation to it,” Garner said to me. “The arguments against a third term for any man are unanswerable. If Roosevelt runs I will oppose his nomination in every way I can. If this campaign had not started in my behalf I might find more effective ways to fight a third term. I don’t want to be President. I have had everything from my party I have a right to ask or expect. I want to be of what service I can to it, but as a private citizen.

“I had hoped Roosevelt would issue a statement taking himself out of the race. This movement has been going on for months now. It was started by and is still being fostered by job holders to whom Roosevelt is a meal ticket. They are trying to bring about a situation where no one else can develop strength or even aspire out loud until Roosevelt makes his wishes known, and they hope to have things sewed up by that time. They are trying to keep every other possible candidate at the mercy of a man who has already had two terms. Whether Roosevelt finally runs or not it is obvious now that the two-term tradition has no force with him. If it did he would have smothered this campaign for him.

“I would be against a third term on principle even if I approved every act of Roosevelt’s two terms. I would oppose my own brother for a third term.”

Garner pointed to a poll just conducted in California which had shown that 60 per cent of those taking part had favored election of a



John L. Lewis in 1940 attacked Roosevelt, Garner and Paul V. McNutt. (C. K. Berryman, *Washington Star*)

Democrat for President in 1940, but 64 per cent of them opposed a third term.

"You can make a very strong case in the affirmative on whether Roosevelt wants a third term by the record of this Congress," Garner said. "Instead of surrendering some of the emergency powers granted him, almost every Administration bill that has come in here at this session has asked for more power to exercise and more money to spend.

"The rule against the third term has the sanction of history and has been supported by an overwhelming majority of the people. The Democratic party position on it has been so clear that it is unthinkable that there will not be a fight for the party's traditional principle.

"If I have to make the fight I will do it and I don't expect much help and I don't see any chance of success. You risk defeat on any issue and on this one it is practically preordained. There are Senators here who are as much opposed to a third term as they were to the purge,

but they cannot make their opposition effective. If they come out for anyone else, even though Roosevelt is not an announced candidate, they are classed as anti-Roosevelt and against the head of the party. Until he announces his plans, all processes of the discussion and choice among other candidates is subdued."

Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on September 3. On September 21, Congress met in special session to repeal the embargo clause in the neutrality act. Garner, hurrying back from a brief vacation, took a leading part in obtaining the repeal of this legislation, which he had opposed from the beginning.

The war in Europe in no way slowed down the third-term campaign. The President had asked for consideration of the embargo repeal without discussion or consideration of party politics. In the midst of its consideration Secretary of Agriculture Wallace sounded the clarion call which thereafter was the main reliance of the drafters—that the war made it necessary for Roosevelt to run for a third term.

The Wallace statement, made at San Francisco, put four Cabinet members behind the third-term drive. The others were Secretary of the Interior Ickes, who had taken his stand in June and was presently directing the drive; Harry L. Hopkins, who had also announced for a third term in June; and Attorney General Frank Murphy, a July recruit.

Also behind the draft movement now were: Mayor Kelly of Chicago, Mayor Hague of Jersey City; Governor Olson of California; former Governor Earle of Pennsylvania; former Governor Leche of Louisiana; former Governor Trapp and National Committeeman Ferris of Oklahoma, and Senators Guffey of Pennsylvania, Pepper of Florida, Murray of Montana, and Smathers of New Jersey.

Understood to be against a third term, but not on public record, were Secretary of State Hull, Secretary of War Woodring and Postmaster General Farley. The other members of the Cabinet were silent.

The third-term pushers were now stressing the claim that President Roosevelt more than anyone could be depended on to keep the war in bounds.

Joseph E. Davies, former Ambassador to Russia, came out for a third term. So did Ambassador to Great Britain Joseph P. Kennedy. Kennedy was the first right-winger to join the movement for a third term.

Garner was more and more inclined to believe that Roosevelt wanted another four years in the White House. The Vice-President said to me during the embargo repeal negotiations with Congressional leaders:

"He didn't talk like a man who was coming to the end of his term. He didn't say that war was inevitable, but he gave the impression that if there was one he intended to run it."

Garner recognized how formidable Roosevelt had become on granted powers, and felt that the rebuffs the President had received in the regular session of Congress had not clipped his wings much.

"Congress has not denied him anything public opinion in the country wanted him to have and it has given him power, which in my judgment, the country does not want him to have," Garner said.

"The President has got so much power that he can legislate whether Congress is in session or not. Through regulations the executive department of this government is legislating every day on things that affect the lives of 130,000,000 people.

"Any man who had been President during this period of stress when the government refinanced hundreds of thousands of city and farm mortgages and rescued millions of bank accounts, would have a deep hold on the people. Roosevelt has rung the changes and dramatized and personalized his action. He is the greatest advertiser the world has ever known.

"This administration has got more money available for press-agent purposes than Mark Hanna used to elect McKinley. Hanna got his from corporations. This comes out of the pocket of the taxpayers."

He said he thought the law of political self-preservation would keep many men who were opposed to a third term from speaking out.

"But some of us can make it plain we are not going along. Maybe all we can do is to make ourselves ridiculous. As far as I am concerned I am willing to look ridiculous if I can do anything to stop it."

In November, Mr. Garner, who up to now had taken no part in the campaign, said he would consider making a statement about his position and wished to discuss the form of it with me. But when I arrived in Uvalde he still doubted whether it was the opportune time to make the statement, so I came away empty handed. He did discuss the situation, but not for publication.

He thought Roosevelt had persuaded himself that he was the only man capable of filling the office of President. He said someone had to oppose the third-term maneuvering. Hull and Farley, who with him were the most talked-of possibilities, were in the Cabinet and hardly could contest the nomination without getting out. (Hull later refused to allow his friends to be active for him. Farley entered and obtained primary delegates only in Massachusetts.)

He said that he would not be a stalking horse and if he did allow the use of his name he would mean what he said about his candidacy.

We discussed the candidates, if Roosevelt did not run.

"Cordell Hull could win the election," Garner said. "Dewey, I think, is likely to be the Republican candidate. He will carry most of the primaries he goes into. He is able, but his youth and the fact that he has never been elected to a statewide office will be against him in the election. Taft has been in the Senate only a couple of years and has had no time to make a record. Vandenberg might make the best Republican candidate, but it doesn't look to me like he has a very good chance for the nomination."

I asked him if he had ever had any disagreements with Hull.

"The only differences between us were on the tariff," he said. "Hull favored a tariff for revenue. So did I, but I wanted a tariff that would equalize the cost of production at home and abroad—a competitive tariff. The only cross word in our long association, I regret to say, was spoken by me in the heat of a discussion of a tariff-bill conference report.

"If I wanted the nomination I could contest with Hull and Farley and whichever of us won we would remain friends."

In December, Eugene Lorton of the *Tulsa World*, for whose newspaper I had been the Washington correspondent for more than twenty years, visited Mr. Garner and telephoned me that Mr. Garner was ready to make a statement. I went to San Antonio and met Richard Norton and Roy Miller, leaders in the Garner movement. We drove to Uvalde.

When Garner greeted us at his home his face was a tomato tan. He had been out of doors most of the time since he arrived from Washington.

"You look like the original red-white-and-blue candidate," Norton said to him. "Red face, white hair, blue eyes."

The Vice-President was dressed in morning clothes. A young couple he had known all their lives were being married and were coming over to get the blessing of Uvalde's first citizen.

He said he was willing to make a statement. We discussed two or three drafts. Finally he took a pencil and wrote a forty-four-word statement, said it was too long, but let it stand. The statement said:

"I will accept the nomination for President. I will make no effort to control any delegates. The people should decide. A candidate should be selected at the primaries and conventions as provided by law, and I sincerely trust that all Democrats will participate in them."

Norton, Miller and I remained for lunch. The Vice-President then changed to camping clothes, took the wheel of his automobile and drove off on a fishing trip. His statement attracted wide and favorable attention in the press, but Democratic officeholders and professional Democratic politicians generally remained in their storm cellars.

In New York, Al Smith said:

"I think and always did think that two terms were enough for any man. It's been a sort of an unwritten part of our Constitution since the days of Washington. . . . It's kind of a tradition—an American tradition.

"Garner's all right. . . . He certainly knows what's going on. . . . He's been hanging around Washington most of his life and should know. . . . And I'm reasonably sure he knows the mistakes of the last seven years."

Smith said there were other men than Garner, worthy of consideration, including Owen D. Young, Senator Byrd of Virginia and former Governor Ely of Massachusetts.

The man in the brown derby continued:

"If you want a good, shrewd, able businessman to solve some of the problems growing out of the financial and taxing mess, take Wendell Willkie. . . . He's a Democrat, I understand, though I am not sure, and he comes from Indiana. . . . Al Smith? Too old. . . . Yeh, I know Garner is older, but he's had more outdoor exercise than I have."

At his first press conference in Washington after the Garner announcement, President Roosevelt was asked to comment on it and on his

own third-term aspirations. Mr. Roosevelt replied that he was too busy with foreign and domestic affairs to talk about potential events a long way off.

That long way, the seven months before the Democratic national convention, was to be one of the most interesting and peculiar periods in the history of party politics.

When Vice-President Garner went to the White House on January 3, 1940, his own declared candidacy for the Presidency was nearly a month old and he was fast coming to the point where he believed that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a full-panoplied candidate for a third term.

It would be the first time since the development of the party system in this nation that a President and Vice-President who had twice shared enormous electoral majorities would be arrayed against one another for the party nomination.

The meeting was amiable enough, but they were not alone. Speaker Bankhead, Senate Majority Leader Barkley and House Majority Leader Rayburn also were in attendance. Their business was to discuss the legislative program at the session of Congress convening the next day.

At a press conference that afternoon the President was asked to comment on two articles that had appeared in the morning papers of that day. One was that Roosevelt would push Cordell Hull for the Presidential nomination. The other was a statement by Rex Tugwell that Roosevelt definitely would not run for a third term and the New Dealers would have to find a new leader. He declined to discuss either report.

Hull about this time declined to allow Tennessee friends to put him into the race, but left the way open for his choice as a compromise candidate. Paul V. McNutt had announced he would not be a candidate if Roosevelt ran. Only Farley remained as a possible "no strings" candidate.

Roosevelt had done an unusual thing in connection with the \$100-per-plate Jackson Day Dinner. He had asked Republican leaders to attend. They declined. Roosevelt's speech, the vaguest he had ever made at the traditional Democratic money-raising dinner, caused increased belief he would be a candidate. An incident of the dinner was the booing of Senator Hatch, author of the bill curbing political activity by federal employees.

After the dinner, Garner said to me:

"Roosevelt made a very unusual request of me tonight. He leaned over to me and said: 'Jack, if anything happens to me I have just one request I want to make of you. I hope you will appoint "Pa" Watson Ambassador to Belgium.'"

Watson, a brigadier general and former military aide to the President, was at that time a Presidential secretary in charge of making appointments for Presidential callers.

Garner's popularity in all polls continued to increase. A January Gallup poll showed that 58 per cent of the Democrats favored the nomination of Garner if Roosevelt did not run. McNutt had risen to second place with 17 per cent, Hull had 13 per cent and Farley 8 per cent.

As polls showed Garner's big lead, more and more state political leaders called on him. One delegation was from Wisconsin, where the first primary of any of the larger states is held. A poll there had shown 65 per cent of the Democrats in favor of Garner.

William D. Carroll, the Wisconsin state Democratic chairman, was a Garner man. He was anxious, however, to find out if Roosevelt intended to run, was irked at the President's failure to make a statement.

Carroll decided to wait no longer and on February 5 sent Garner a telegram informing him a full slate of Garner delegates was being entered in the primary ticket.

On the same day President Roosevelt said at a press conference at Hyde Park that he was getting tired of efforts to sound him out on a third term. He made known that when he had anything to say he would say it.

"Your newspapers are very silly," the President said to the reporters, "because very obviously, when anything is said it will be at a time of my choosing and not of their choosing."

A reporter said:

"We will keep on trying, Mr. President."

The President admonished the reporters to tell their editors they were placing the reporters in "a ridiculous or immature position in continuing to ask these questions."

On February 7, Garner bucked the powerful Kelley-Nash machine

by entering the Illinois primaries. Garner in entering Illinois had made a sworn statement that he was a candidate. All interpretations of the Illinois law up to this time were that a sworn statement from the candidate was necessary before the candidate's name could be put on the ticket, but Illinois officials ruled differently this time and Roosevelt's name went on the ballot. Roosevelt had until February 24 to withdraw his name in Illinois, but he was on the high seas at that time and his name stayed on. The President now was at least a passive candidate in Illinois, Wisconsin and New Hampshire.

The Vice-President knew the cards were stacked against him and now felt certain that the cues for the third-term campaign were coming from the White House, and were being so manipulated that the President could get the benefit of his party position without having the handicap of the third-term issue.

"It in effect is a plebiscite on his record conducted in his own party instead of a vote on an open candidacy," Garner said. "There is no risk to him. The country is kept guessing. It scuttles all democratic processes. He can work this so the nomination will be worthless to anyone else but himself."

Nevertheless, the Garner campaign committee, with Mr. Garner's hearty consent, decided to contest California and Oregon. In his letter allowing his name to be used in the California preference primary, he directed an implied rebuke at Roosevelt for his continued silence.

His statement plainly indicated that, in his belief, the time had come for Mr. Roosevelt to declare his intentions in order that Democratic voters might make a free choice among Democratic aspirants.

Garner said:

"I am sure you are actuated by the same thought and purpose which caused me to announce my willingness to accept the nomination, namely a desire to be of service to our beloved country subject only to the expressed will of the people.

"Free government is safe as long as the people have the right and opportunity to choose their public servants. My candidacy is in the hands of the people for their verdict at the Democratic convention at Chicago July 15, or at the general election next November."

Garner's men said things began to get progressively rougher for

them as the state machines got what they regarded as Roosevelt green lights from Washington.

Roy Miller, a close friend of Garner and an ardent worker for his nomination, told me in February:

"Some of the fellows who told me they were against a third term as a matter of principle seem to be rising above principle now. Between officeholders and people getting subsidies there are not many people left to talk to."

"We get plenty of encouragement, but our encouragers stop there. In one state this week I asked a lawyer what he was willing to do. He said he could do nothing as his firm was handling H.O.L.C. and F.H.A. business, which they might lose, and it would be unfair to his partners for him to cause them the loss. Another businessman told me his firm had some military supply contracts and he could not take the risk of opposing Roosevelt."

In March, the campaign was proceeding in Wisconsin. It was a particularly hard state to contest. Roosevelt had got his strength there in his two winning campaigns from the La Follette Progressives and in return had given them his support in their local and state campaigns. The third-party Progressives are free under Wisconsin law to go into either the Republican or Democratic Presidential primaries as they hold none of their own.

The Progressives swarmed into the Democratic primary and despite the good races put up by Garner delegates in the state outside of Milwaukee, Garner got only three Wisconsin delegates and Roosevelt twenty-three.

Roosevelt also swept Illinois in the primary the following week. In California, where Garner had defeated both Roosevelt and Smith in 1932, Roosevelt had a one-sided victory, with only one of the state's delegates going to Garner.

But some of the New Dealers still thought Roosevelt would not run. Rex Tugwell took this view in an article in *Look Magazine* in June:

"Recent events in Europe's war make it more certain that Franklin D. Roosevelt will leave office next January. These events seem likely to make him emphasize more boldly the solid American commitment

to democracy, and, to do this with action, which means he does not intend to run."

Before the Democratic national convention met in Chicago, Garner was not only certain that Roosevelt would be nominated but barring a miracle would be elected. The Vice-President, who was never fooled on any election, felt that the Willkie nomination at Philadelphia was another "throw-away" for the Republicans.

"By all standards as political parties have applied them in this country, Willkie is the least available of any Presidential candidate nominated by either party in modern times," Garner told me. "He has no record of either elective or appointive public service and no record of high military service.

"He has been elected to no office at all nor received a preference in any party primary. There is not a shred of ballot-box evidence that he has any grass-root strength for he entered no Presidential primary nor was he considered in any state convention electing delegates.

"His utility background and his Wall Street law practice will be against him with many independents and progressive voters. He is an unknown quantity to the country from every standpoint insofar as public office is concerned. I know all about the telegrams, but telegrams don't come from polling booths. He is a former Democrat and can hardly expect the enthusiastic support of the Republican organization.

"Any candidate considered at Philadelphia would, in my opinion, have done better than Willkie will this fall. There are twenty million Republicans and last-ditch anti-Roosevelt Democrats and I doubt if Willkie gets many more than those."

The Vice-President was surprised that as the Dewey and Taft deadlock developed Vandenberg had not been the compromise candidate.

"A man has got to be what he is, and so has a party," he said. "The Republicans are out of character without a Republican as their candidate."

I was elected a delegate at large from Texas to the Democratic national convention. Just before I left for the Chicago session, Mr. Garner told me he wished me to serve as his proxy on the Democratic

national committee and to serve as his spokesman at Chicago if any occasion arose for it. He said I was to take whatever action I thought best in any case without consultation with him or anyone else.

There had recently been some talk and Garner had been felt out—he did not know how authoritatively—on whether or not he would be agreeable to “making it the same old team” for a third time. If that developed from any source to the point where it became a convention floor matter, it was understood between us I was to go to the Speaker’s stand and tell the convention that Mr. Garner would not again take the Vice-Presidency under any circumstances.

No action was ever necessary. The bewildered delegates waited around until President Roosevelt named Henry Wallace as his choice for running mate; they came near to rebelling at this point but finally accepted him.

I was confronted with another proposal, however, about which I had not talked to Mr. Garner. The triumphant New Dealers were making an energetic effort to bring about an acclamation nomination. Some of our Texas delegates talked to me about it and said that in view of the certainty of Roosevelt’s nomination they felt it would be best not to put Mr. Garner’s name before the convention and hoped I would see the situation in the same light.

I told them I could not see it in this light; that Mr. Garner regarded the precedent against a third term for any President almost as compelling as a provision in the Constitution itself; that he had never had any idea he could beat Roosevelt if Roosevelt wanted to run, but that he had stood for the nomination and obtained delegates and his name would go before the convention. The argument was then advanced that he would be booed and that, in view of his long party service and the high office he held, he should not be subjected to that.

My reply was:

“Mr. Garner in the last six months has gone through an experience that is bound to have been very unpleasant to him. He has not winced at anything that has happened. A little booing would be a minor matter. Anyway, if there is any booing he won’t hear it. He will probably be asleep at the time.”

Before I left Washington I had told the Vice-President that I would

talk to James A. Farley when I got to Chicago and I asked him if they had had any agreement. He replied:

"There has never been any understanding between us that either would aid the other. He is, of course, opposed to a third term, as I am."

I went to the Stevens Hotel and saw Farley. He was not very busy. Activity was across the street in the Hopkins third-term headquarters in the Blackstone. I asked Farley if his name was going before the convention. He said it was.

He asked me if Garner's name would be presented. I told him it would be.

I asked him if there would be a roll call.

"There will be. There is going to be no acclamation without a roll call. There are at least 125 delegates here who want to be recorded against a third term and they will be recorded."

I asked Farley who was going to nominate him. He said Senator Glass had expressed a desire to but that Glass was ill and he was not sure he would be able to do so. He asked me who would nominate Garner.

I told him Wright Morrow of Houston would nominate Garner.

On the second day of the convention, Chairman Barkley delivered the long-awaited statement from President Roosevelt, in which Barkley, speaking for the President, said he released all delegates and did not desire the nomination.

Here occurred a remarkable demonstration presenting an entirely new twist in convention mechanics. As Barkley finished speaking, a parade started, principally not of delegates but of men and women brought in by Mayor Kelly of Chicago. Hundreds of banners bearing the inscriptions ROOSEVELT AND HUMANITY appeared. A huge picture of the President was handed to Senator Barkley, who lifted it high above the rostrum.

Above the din one voice rose: It screamed: 'We want Roosevelt!' 'America wants Roosevelt!' Then one by one it went through the states from Alabama to Wyoming, with a cry for each of "— wants Roosevelt." This was a new one for the press gallery which had seen about everything a convention had to offer. It started a search which developed that Thomas D. McGarry, Chicago superintendent of

sewers, had rigged up an apparatus in the basement and attached it to the loud-speaker system. The universal demand for Roosevelt, it developed, was one man reading from script into the amplifying system and reporters called it "the voice from the sewers."

Feeling was high against Garner and Farley for allowing their names to be presented. With Wright Morrow, I went to the soft-drink stand just outside the convention door. Morrow was wearing a small Garner button on the lapel of his coat. As we started back through the door a policeman stopped Morrow, reached for the Garner button and said:

"You had better take that off—you are liable to get hurt in there wearing that button."

Morrow replied:

"I came here wearing that button. I have been wearing it all the time I have been here. Texas is instructed for Mr. Garner who is the Vice-President of the United States. I suppose you will protect me from getting hurt if anyone jumps on me, for I am going to continue wearing a Garner button."

The policeman replied that he couldn't be responsible and thought Morrow ought to take it off. In fact he had it about halfway off while he talked. Morrow told him to keep it as a souvenir, placed another Garner button on his lapel and went inside.

When we got into the hall again we saw that every aisle was packed by persons who were not delegates and who were let in without tickets. Morrow and I went to Chairman Barkley to protest. We told him that friends of Mr. Garner wished to stage a parade, that the Texas Cowboy Band with four white horses had been brought to Chicago with the Texas delegation for the purpose.

The harassed Barkley heard us, said he was alarmed at the size of the crowd already in the convention, but called Edward Halsey, sergeant-at-arms of the convention.

"We just want to do what the friends of any candidate do in a national convention," I told Halsey.

Halsey pulled a piece of paper out of his pocket.

"I have just got this note telling me that not another person can be admitted to the hall," he said. "It is a dangerous situation. If you started a parade there might be a riot."

I replied:

"Ed, there have been a lot of fist fights in national conventions, but no riots. If there is one here tonight it will be because this hall has been packed by people who have no admission tickets. We have delegates at an entrance door with admission tickets and they intend to come in with a band which also has admission tickets."

In a few minutes Halsey came to us and told us that the aisles would be cleared sufficiently to permit our parade, but asked us not to bring the horses in.

"Well, we will concede that," Morrow said. "The horses do not have admission tickets."

We held the parade and were surprised by the number of delegates from other states who fell into line.

The booing which greeted both Glass and Morrow as they delivered their nominating speeches lived up to all advance promises.

The end of the Garner candidacy came on Wednesday, July 17, when at a six-hour convention session the platform was adopted, candidates were placed in nomination and Roosevelt was nominated.

On July 22, Mr. Garner, who had remained in Washington during the national convention, left for Uvalde. He made no statement as to when he expected to return but he had stripped his office and hotel apartment of all his pictures, mementos and personal belongings. He had broken a record for the longest continuous service in the chairs of the highest parliamentary bodies in the United States. His ten years of consecutive service as a presiding officer was divided two years as Speaker and eight years as Vice-President. He had gathered an unequaled number of gavels. They were of every size and every composition. One of them was so tiny it could be hidden in the palm of the hand, another weighed several hundred pounds and required two men to lift it. All were presented to the Texas State Museum at Austin.

The Vice-President returned in September, presided over the Senate until Congress adjourned and remained a few days afterward.

I asked him what his feelings were toward the men who proffered but never gave him support. He replied:

"It is inherent political nature of officeholders from Senator to constable to want to be with the winner. Roosevelt was the head of the party and a popular President. When they found out he was going to be a

candidate they acquiesced in his nomination or supported him. They could not fight the head of the party and keep their political lives. Nothing they could have done individually or as a group would have changed the result. I know that twenty Senators favored my nomination. I never criticized one or blamed one of them for going to Roosevelt."

On his last day before going home in the autumn he had a long visit with Senator Glass. Pat Harrison and other colleagues came in. They were not sure whether he would return for the January session.

Garner made no public statement during the campaign. In mid-October he thought Willkie had a chance to carry New York, but no chance in the decisive states of Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania and California.

The retiring Vice-President returned in January to preside over the Senate until the end of his term. He received the regular invitation to the Cabinet meeting and attended.

Lend-Lease was under discussion at the Cabinet meeting. Authorship of the plan was mooted, but Arthur Purvis, head of the British-French Joint Purchasing Agency here, was understood to have had a part in it.

Garner had an expert background in fiscal and foreign affairs. He had once been ranking member on both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee. He did not object to the proposal, had an open mind on it, but wanted information.

Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, who was supposed to know its details, was unable or at least did not explain them to the Vice-President's satisfaction.

The proposal went to Congress after Garner left Washington. On February 9, it got one of the greatest boosts ever given a piece of legislation. Wendell Willkie went to London, taking a letter from President Roosevelt to Winston Churchill.

Churchill, acknowledging the letter in a worldwide broadcast, said: "Put your confidence in us. Give us your faith and your blessings and under Providence all will be well. We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long drawn trials of vigilance and uncertainty will wear us down. *Give us the tools and we shall finish the job.*"

A few days before the end of his term, Garner was guest at a luncheon given by Jesse H. Jones, William S. Knudsen, Pat Harrison, Bennett Clark, Finis Garrett and other old friends.

He swore in Henry Wallace as his successor and took part in the inauguration ceremonies. Numerous Senators paid tribute to him in Senate exercises. Senator Austin of Vermont, later United States representative on the United Nations, said:

"At the end of the second term of the Vice-President, I desire to express the appreciation of the minority [Republicans] of certain outstanding characteristics of this man, who seemed to be a combination of Roger Williams and Sam Houston. His characteristics were positiveness, fairness, decisiveness, candor, loyalty. All these, which form the foundations of everlasting friendship on the part of members of this body on both sides of the aisle, were possessed by this unique character to a degree which I think I have never observed in any other man."

The former Vice-President had enjoyed his service in Washington. He was breaking many years of affectionate association.

"I have been here thirty-eight years," he told a group of friends who called to bid him farewell. That is just one-fourth of the 152 years of the life of this Republic up to now. I am going home to live to be ninety-three years old."

I asked him if he thought Roosevelt's third nomination could have been stopped by any sort of strategy. He said nothing could have stopped it.

"But if I faced the same situation again I would try it. I would try it against any President seeking a third term. I would know that I had little or no chance for success, but I would take the long chance."

Then he said:

"Roosevelt will be a candidate for a fourth term if he lives. The next time it will have less open opposition than it had this time. He will never leave the White House except in death or defeat."

After Roosevelt's death he told me at Uvalde why he felt this way:

"Roosevelt would have run as long as he lived and was in office. He was ambitious. He wanted history to record him as the man who served longest in the Presidency. He was afraid someone would undo his work. But I think he would have had a better record and a more desirable place in history if he had not run for a third term."

When I asked him if he regretted throwing the 1932 nomination to Roosevelt, he replied:

"As a party man, if the same situation were presented to me again as it was in 1932, I would do the same thing. Roosevelt made a good President for four years and could have been a great one in the second four. I wish I had not felt obliged by party loyalty to go on the ticket with him, but I did. He needed a Joe Cannon as Speaker. That would have been a check on him.

"Theodore Roosevelt had Cannon to check him in all but the first two years of his administration. I would have liked to play that part in Franklin Roosevelt's administration. I think I could have talked him out of a lot of things. That could have been my contribution. I would have had no desire to dictate his decisions. I would not have tried to tell him what he could do. But there would have been times when I would have told him what he could not do."

I asked Garner for his estimate of Roosevelt as a politician.

"His political success indicates that he had the best kind of political mind. But there are factors which make it difficult to evaluate his political skill. He was on the crest of the wave and only two or three times in our history has the other political party been so weak as during his terms. How he would have fared under normal political alignments can only be conjectured."

In the minds of most people Garner and former President Hoover were pictured as irreconcilable antagonists. Surely no two men slammed each other harder. But of Garner, Hoover said:

"John Garner knew how to play politics, and he was a master of that game. But he is a true patriot, a sound thinker and absolutely trustworthy in his engagements." In 1947, Garner said to me at Uvalde:

"I co-operated with President Hoover on some things. On some I fought him with everything I had, under Marquis of Queensberry, London Prize Ring and catch-as-catch-can rules. But I always fought according to rules. My judgment may have been frail as to the proper solution of the vexing problems, but my course from 1931 to 1933, while I was Speaker, as in all my public career, put public welfare above partisan advantage. I thought my party had a better program for national recovery than Mr. Hoover and his party.

"I never reflected on the personal character or integrity of Herbert

Hoover. I never doubted his probity or his patriotism. In many ways he was superbly equipped for the Presidency. If he had become President in 1921 or 1937, he might have ranked with the greatest Presidents. Those periods would have been more suitable to his talents. I think Herbert Hoover today is the wisest statesman on world affairs in America. He may be on domestic affairs, too."

Reflections of a Statesman-Citizen

JOHN NANCE GARNER at seventy-nine is having just the sort of life he planned for himself.

As he sat on the sun-spangled glassed-in porch of his home in Uvalde he told me:

"I have had a lot of fun since I came back here. I get just the exercise I want, just the reading I want, just the amount of work I want, just the association I want. But for the fact that Mrs. Garner has been ill much of the time I think I could say that the seven years since I came back here have been the seven happiest of my life. Had Mrs. Garner kept her health we would have traveled some."

It took Mr. Garner a long time to get back to the sand-colored brick house he built in 1918 in anticipation of retirement from office, but getting used to private life required very little readjustment for him. He never wore Washington very thick. He regarded himself as a workman in the business of representative government and the national capital was the place where he met similar workmen for discussion of national problems and enactment of national legislation.

"Some people would stay in Washington if they had to live in trees," he said. "I always took the last train that would get me there for whatever business there was and I took the first train out when it was finished."

But because he has no nostalgia for Washington does not mean that he did not enjoy his long service there. For nearly forty years he had stanch friendships with almost every outstanding personality in the Democratic and Republican parties and with hundreds of other men eminent in all pursuits.

His house is filled with mementos. The first Vice-President's flag ever

used was designed for him and stands in the wide entrance hall of his home. The designer of the flag was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

His library is filled with books autographed by the authors, and writers continue to send him more new books than he can read, but he reads a great deal. Much of his reading is of the classics. Mrs. Garner can no longer read and he reads to her daily. When I was at their home in December 1947, he was reading Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* to her. Christmas presents came to them from all over the country.

"From the time I came to Uvalde more than fifty years ago my days have been cast in pleasant places—here, at Austin and in Washington," he said. "None of my days are lamented."

But he says being a citizen requires his full time.

"I threw all my energy into public life for forty years, now I need all my energy for my duties as a citizen," he said. "My activities leave me little time to think of the past. I can work nine hours a day and usually do and I have a grand time."

The Garner town place is set among giant oak trees. The eight acres of lawn are carpeted with rich San Augustine grass, known as "Garner grass." It grows under trees. He tried his hand at making it grow under the shade of White House trees but failed and the bare spots are still there.

Around the house are 180 towering pecan trees. Fenced off to the rear are chickens, turkeys, ducks and geese.

Sometimes he receives visitors on the back porch and breakfast room of his home. It has an oilcloth-covered table, an icebox and pitchers of what he calls "branch water." The walls are covered with red, green and yellow Aztec figures.

He lives at 333 Park Street and calls your attention to the fact that it is Park Street not Park Avenue and the intersecting street is named Mesquite. But that is jocular. He thinks there are good people on Park Avenue, too.

"But right here is the United States of America," he says. "My neighbors are people of sincerity and kindness. No one lives in great luxury, but they apply the essentials of sound living. All of them seem to accumulate a few more things each year, to live a little better and have more comforts. It isn't Utopia, of course, and they have their struggles, but they get along. They are mighty good neighbors."

To these neighbors he is Mr. Garner, and to the older people he is "the Judge." He was the Judge to them when he was Representative, Speaker, Minority Leader and Vice-President. That is what he has been ever since he was county judge of Uvalde county, a half-century ago.

Uvalde has a heavy Mexican population. Recently he suggested the establishment of a boy's center and agreed to match a sum raised by subscription in the city. With it the center was purchased and is in operation.

Mr. Garner owns banks, business houses, residences, farms and ranches. His ranches total 46,000 acres.

"I hope they don't bring in oil any time soon," he said. "That would bring on a lot of things to pester me."

The former Vice-President occasionally goes on a fishing trip with Ross Brumfield, local garage owner. But for the most part he is engaged now in his "housing projects."

He has built ninety-one residences and business houses lately to add to others he has been building for years. The percentage of Garner-owned or Garner-built houses is so large that if Uvalde were New York City it would be about half the houses on Manhattan Isle. It is a great deal for Uvalde, which like every city, town and village in the nation has a housing problem.

"I am trying to serve my nation by alleviating the housing situation and paying taxes," he said.

Sometimes a Uvalde citizen will point to one of the Garner houses and slyly say: "That is another one of the houses that Jack built."

But no one in Uvalde is on informal enough terms to call him "Jack." Those variations of "Jack," such as "Cactus Jack," "Chaparral Jack" and the like were Eastern concoctions and even there they were used to his back. Very few men had such easy informality with him. Certainly very few people in Uvalde speak of him other than Judge Garner or Mr. Garner. Even Mrs. Garner never called him any other name but Mr. Garner.

Mr. Garner got into the housing business without having given it much advance thought. Eight or nine years ago F.H.A. built a demonstration house in Uvalde but the follow-up was rather slow. Someone suggested to the Vice-President that he ought to build some

houses. He had much vacant property and decided to try his hand at it.

Then a story got out how he was doing a job at a great deal less than the F.H.A. houses could be built for. The Vice-President said he did not put on as many "doodads" as F.H.A. suggested. By "doodads" he meant things his prospective renters or purchasers did not regard as essential. He never liked "doodads" on appropriation bills or anywhere else. But the Vice-President said he merely built the houses because people wanted them, their construction furnished employment for idle people and idle money and he liked to be doing something.

"No architectural firm draws the plans. They are designed in a spirit of neighborliness. The womenfolks who are going to live in them furnish the ideas. The principal aim in their construction is that you have got to please the womenfolks."

His housing venture includes business buildings as well.

These are usually leased for ten years. He pointed to one in a brisk walk we took around the town.

"That one I let go for too little rent," he said. "But the fellow who has it is a good man and will be successful. I'll up him ten years from now."

As Mr. Garner is now seventy-nine, he would be eighty-nine at the upping time. He says he does not want to live to be an old man, but would like to live to be ninety-three.

"I was in public office forty-six years," he said. "If I live to be ninety-three I will have spent more than half of my years in private life. I would like to achieve that."

On appearances the former Vice-President won't be old at ninety-three unless he ages fast from now on. He could pass for twenty years less than the calendar shows. He certainly has no wrinkles of worry or any other kind of wrinkles. He still never seems to be physically tired. His high-pitched voice still has the same vigor. He comes to a point with terseness and wastes few words.

Some people in Uvalde say:

"The Judge has made two or three fortunes since he got out of public life."

They apparently don't mean he has made and lost them, but has accumulated two or three times what would be considered a good lifetime financial setup.

Garner got most of the things in life by his own shrewdness and prudence. His parents supplied him with a log cabin to be born in, which was a good political asset. The rest he principally did for himself. Garner has not only made money for himself. He has helped others to make it.

Because of the train schedule, Garner going home from Congressional sessions would leave the train at San Antonio and drive to Uvalde. His favorite driver was an Englishman. Garner's first loan to him was \$530 to buy an automobile of his own, and he continued his backing in other things. Last autumn the man refused more than a million dollars for the business he started on \$530 borrowed from Garner.

He has taken most pleasure out of helping people get or save their homes.

"The happiest thing about it is that I have never been in court on a foreclosure or taken advantage of anyone's distress to make a profit for myself," he said.

"I somehow think the man who contrives to get hold of a home of his own or a little piece of land somewhere is a sounder individual than the man who does not. After the Democrats came into power in 1933 I marveled at the scores of earnest men who came to Washington to manage the problems of the nation and many of them had never managed to own a home. They did not know what was wrong, but they wanted to right it. There were some more cocksure who thought they had their fingers on the solution of the problems. They left the government service without solving the problems and left nothing but their fingerprints."

When bank trouble began in the early 1930's there were two banks in Uvalde. Garner from the first had wanted the accounts of little people. The rival bank went after the choice accounts. But the day arrived when there were few choice accounts. The other bank went to Garner and suggested he take the bank over. He did.

With all his other activities, the former Vice-President in retirement sees as high as thirty visitors a day at his home. The average is twenty. Some of them drive a long way to see him. They don't stay any longer than he wants them to stay. He is hospitable, but he can send you on your way with great felicity.

To Texas outside his home town he is the "Sage of Uvalde" or the "Squire of Uvalde." There is a state park named for him near by.

Anyone running for office likes to get a pointer from him. In the Presidential election year, 1948, he has many national visitors, too.

He rises early, spends a couple of hours looking after his mail and business matters. Formerly he walked downtown for a shave, but his barbers, Fyan Nelson and Bill Gordon, have lost a customer.

"I never shaved myself in my life until last fall," Garner said. "I always thought when I got a little time I would try it. I got an electric razor and now shave myself."

The former Vice-President thinks if he had his private life and his public career before him again he would not do anything differently than he did.

"I never did anything by caprice," he said. "My acts usually were done deliberately."

Once Mr. Garner gave some thought to writing his memoirs or turning them over to someone.

"I have a record of about all the transactions of my life," he said. "Sometime I might turn them over to someone and tell him to go to it."

However, he finally burned the priceless records.

"I had many offers," he said. "Some wanted to do this and some that with the material. I didn't want to go through the files myself. They were a mass of yellow and yellowing paper. I needed all my own energies for present activities. So, I burned them. Under the circumstances that was a good disposition of them."

Although Garner for thirty years did not canvass his district and franked no speeches home, he had a reputation for spotting trends and separating them from transient manifestations.

He once said to me:

"In my personal experience, I tried to represent my constituency, but that representation had to fit in with what I considered the national good. If I did not represent the views of my Congressional district they had a chance to do something about it every two years.

"A Congressional district is sometimes a hard taskmaster. None of them ever reach a point where they say: 'Just let our interests rock along and go be a national statesman.'"

Once when a newspaper article said that Garner had a better practical understanding of legislative government than any other living man, he commented:

"Actually, I am a plain businessman who has happened to have long legislative experience as the representative of a conservative community. This experience has endowed me with a fair realization, I hope, of the problems of government.

"I guess we'd hate to live in a world where no one loves us, and a public man likes to have approval of the people. In the House of Representatives the elections are so frequent that its membership is responsive to the informed will of the people. Mature and informed public opinion is one thing. Emotional fervor of uninformed people is quite another. This emotional feeling sometimes manifests itself in a flood of telegrams on a pending bill.

"There is just one reliable test that the public man should respond to and that is a legal, secret and safeguarded ballot. I never paid much attention to straw votes and haphazard tests of public opinion. The unofficial polls go up and down, by the week or the month. The people are not so mercurial. If they changed that fast then our terms for elected officials are too long."

Garner is proud of the fact that everyone who ever ran for Congress against him wound up supporting him. He said:

"They were political opponents, not enemies."

Garner in his long legislative career sounded no bugle calls and never was in any torment of intensity over any measure. He just sat down and worked things out with other men. I asked him the qualities necessary for leadership. He said:

"The art of getting along with men is one of the greatest gifts of statesmanship, one of the most important assets of the public man. It consists of holding men to you by winning their respect and affection. Then, if in addition a man has ability he becomes a very strong leader.

"Nature has something to do with it, of course. Just as an animal may have some outstanding characteristics that others of the same breed may not have; or as a particular race horse will have both speed and staying qualities, so some men will have the natural qualities that fit them for leadership. These can be brought out, developed and accelerated by use and experience. Our elective system, with its local and state offices, its state and national legislative bodies, provides an excellent training ground as well as machinery for selecting the capable from the

other kind as they prove themselves. But, of course, the voters have to do their part."

Dogmatic attitudes exasperated him. He said:

"I have every respect for an opinion contrary to my own provided it is sincere. No man or party has a monopoly on good intentions or intelligence."

Discussing a cliché that everyone advanced for anything they desired an appropriation for, the former Vice-President said:

"There is, of course, such a thing as too little and too late. There is also such a thing as too much and too quick. It doesn't hurt to allow some situations to jell awhile."

He discerns the tricks of the propaganda boys. He said:

"The clamor of a vociferous minority many times drowns out the voice of the submerged majority."

Garner spots all the build-ups used now as they were in his earliest service to wheedle or snare an appropriation out of Congress. There is little difference in technique. While there are no new twists, the amounts are more inflated.

"Nearly always," he says, "there is an emergency threatening dire results unless immediately relieved by adequate use of some of the money belonging to the American taxpayer."

Garner can't remember what it was, but he thinks there was a serious disaster threatening, unless relieved by an appropriation, when he first arrived in Washington.

Not only does the former Vice-President not remember what the first emergency was but he can't recall the last one or most of those between.

"In my early days in Congress," he said, "a man would express his undying devotion to the flag and wind up asking for a little appropriation to dig out a bayou in his district. But in recent years it isn't Congress that thinks up the plans for throwing money around.

"The cost of government the year I went to Washington was \$486,439,407. Any appropriation item that small now is merely interim."

Garner likes some things about career men in government. The fault he finds with them is that:

"They've spent their entire lives spending appropriated money."

Naturally, a man who had a gift for government and knew the

practical art of government better than any living American will talk about government, and Garner does.

"But I wish there was less government to talk about," he said. "The best thing that would happen to the American people would be curtailed government. The most affectionate, heartfelt wish I could have for the American people is less government.

"We have come a long way from the thirteen former colonies on the Atlantic seaboard and the original conception that almost the sole function of the national government was to repel invasion and prevent the states from raising trade barriers against one another. But in the year 1948 it is still true that the country is governed best that is governed least. The people know what to do for themselves better than the government knows what to do for them.

"I never saw a federal official until I was fourteen years old. It was a healthier, more independent country then. A boy of fourteen now probably has seen more federal than local officials.

"Washington always has to have its kitty. Somewhere between the taxpayer and the ultimate use to which his money is to be put Washington extracts roughly 15 per cent. That goes for what is call 'administration.' The people get something back in services. The party in power (whatever party it is) gets more jobs and a machine.

"As a citizen given the decision as to whether I would rather pay high taxes and see the government debt reduced or whether I would rather have lower taxes and a huge public debt, I would prefer to continue paying high taxes. The only trouble is that with a great tax yield the government looks around for new ways to spend money instead of reducing the debt.

"All bonds are payable in dollars. If we pay on the debt now we are paying with dollars worth a half or a third less than they were worth when the debt was contracted or which they will be worth again sometime.

"If we pay off five billion a year we would have fifty billion paid off in ten years. The people, once the custom of paying was established, would insist on the yearly payment. Then if there was a depression or some setback we would be better able to withstand it."

Garner takes a great interest in local government in his home city and country. He thinks everyone should.

"If they did," he said, "they would get a better concept of the American principle of government. You don't get the right perspective of national government unless you understand local and state government. It is all interwoven. Some people who pass for pundits in government think the national government is all important. They are out of focus. If all the people had a comprehensive understanding of government they would take some of it out of Washington and bring it home where they could watch it. They would be rewarded with smaller tax bills and they wouldn't have to pay for two million civilian federal employees."

Partly from habit and partly from actual enjoyment Garner is still a constant reader of the *Congressional Record* and believes that omnium gatherum ought to have more subscribers.

He remarked that there is one thing of which there will always be a shortage and that is capable public servants. He hopes capable men will always give some time to government. Discussing Roosevelt appointments, he said:

"Roosevelt appointed some very able men. He appointed some second-rate men and some of his appointees were so bad as to be perfectly astounding. His worst appointments were judicial, the one place where he should have appointed the ablest man, regardless of politics. Some of his appointments to the highest courts should not have happened to a justice-of-the-peace court."

When Congress submitted the proposed constitutional amendment limiting the President to two terms, I asked him his view on it.

"The states ought to adopt the two-term amendment, which Congress has submitted," he said. "It is good Democratic doctrine. Andrew Jackson in his second annual message to Congress recommended a constitutional amendment limiting the term of Presidents.

"A President in his third and successive terms may not be a dictator, but he is the first cousin or half-brother of one, and he will perform like one. That is plain, unadulterated human nature.

"I'll go further. I wish it could be worked out so that we could have only four or eight years of Republican administration and four or eight years of Democratic administration at a time.

"More equal division between the parties would make for better government in the South and would aid its industrial growth. The

South has become more and more a one-party section. The Democratic party has increased its strength in Vermont and Maine, but the Republican party has not in Mississippi and South Carolina. The Congressional district in which I live once polled a heavy Republican vote. Now, it is negligible."

Garner still adheres to his long-held belief that the requirement of a two-thirds vote to override an Executive veto gives the President too much power.

"I have for many years believed that when the President vetoes a measure it should be returned to Congress with the requirement that not a mere majority of these present and voting, but a majority of the total 96 Senators and 435 Representatives should be sufficient to override. If after considering the objections of the President 49 Senators and 218 Representatives believe the measure should become law notwithstanding the objections of the Executive, that measure should become law.

"Project the present required two-thirds into terms of popular votes. Out of forty-five million voters that would mean thirty million on one side and fifteen on the other. There has never been any such popular majority in our history."

Garner has lost none of his affection for Congress. Sometimes he seems a little more of a House man than a Senate man.

"The House of Representatives is not the 'lower' House," he said. "It is the most numerous, but not the 'lower.' In the most important legislative functions of taxes, appropriations and the control of the purse it is the originating and, therefore, the highest House."

"The Executive has too much power now [this conversation was in 1947]. Under our form of government Congress is the people's representatives. The people are entitled to carefully worked-out legislation, debated, amended and perfected by the people's representatives. We have had too much legislation by Executive order."

He continued:

"I have been called a Congress man and I am. Congress has never been the usurper in this country. The few times it has attempted it, it has failed. It has erred more often the other way. It has granted power to the Executive or has allowed him to usurp power to the point where he could carry on personal government instead of gov-

ernment by accepted laws. At times Congress has sat by and watched the courts legislate.

"Congress is sound. It has always been sound. Its weakness is on appropriations. Leadership on government economy has to come from the White House. If a President wants economy and will use his Budget Bureau to that end he will get it. You have to have a Coolidge.

"I have never advocated a weak Executive. The Presidency of the United States is the greatest office in the world. My belief has been in Executive leadership, not Executive rulership. In party matters when we have had a Democratic President I have wanted all parts of the country and all factions of the party to have a voice in party policy. You have to have a leader. Time comes when the leader must exercise his leadership, but it is always a good plan to see what is in the minds of the rank and file. Sometimes the led have a better idea than the leader.

"The President, through his appointive power and the Senate, through its prerogatives of 'advice and consent,' have no more sacred duty than in the selection of that branch of government which is appointive—the judiciary. The President, in making appointments to the Supreme Court, should see that a political balance is kept. A five-to-four division is most desirable. There should never be a wider division than six to three.

"The men who founded this government believed in a republican form of government. In a democracy one man can conceivably control the government. It has always been a possibility and it is especially so today when an individual occupying that office has at his command so many vehicles for putting himself before the country.

"We do not have three hostile divisions of government, one for law making, one for law executing and one for law interpreting. We have a trinity of co-ordinated branches. The boundaries between them are marked distinctly enough for anyone who desires to see them."

At the time of his retirement in 1941, Mr. Garner gave me an intimate view of how he felt about his public service.

"I hope I may have been helpful in accomplishing some permanent good to my country," he said, "I have tried to do so.

"Very few men have had so extended an opportunity. I am grateful for having had the privilege of associating with and working with

hundreds of men, coming from all sections of the nation and representing every viewpoint. I believe I served with a total of between 3,000 and 4,000 Senators and Representatives. Most of them were men of courage, patriotism and good will, of stability and dependability, determined to do what was best for their country, according to their lights.

"To my knowledge, I have never deceived a man or a woman in my life. I have never been prodigal with promises, but I never made a promise I did not have every reason to believe I could keep. I never gave utterance to anything I did not believe to be the truth. I have wanted people to know where I stood and sometimes I may have carried this to the point of bluntness and unkindness.

"I never sought fame or glory. Both are transitory. I wanted only to be a competent workman in the business of government. I have had great love for and debt to my party and wanted it to be an instrument of good, whether it was in the majority or the minority. Sometimes it has been more serviceable as an effective minority. My considered opinion is that I had no more useful years than those in the ranks of or as the leader of the opposition to the majority.

"I deplore demagoguery and the appeal to class animosity. It has never seemed to me that permanent gain was achieved by too much haste in settling solemn problems. I have seen no one possessed of enough knowledge to cause me to think he was a bringer of the millennium. But I have seen this country steadily advance to startling heights."

But home in Texas, Garner finds things just as absorbing as he ever found them in Washington. He gets great joy out of simple things.

The Garner lawn is a bird sanctuary. Mr. Garner watches the variety of birds which come to the birdbaths he has erected. The ex-Vice-President also is a great animal lover, although he has no especial favorite in the animal world. Once he found three motherless kittens and cared for them until they were old enough to look after their own affairs. He was proud of the achievement.

His son, Tully, lives in a house adjoining Mr. Garner's.

His granddaughter, Genevieve, now Mrs. John Currie, visits him often and her two sons, John Garner Currie and Tully Robert Currie, keep him busy on their visits.

Some years ago Mr. Garner was quoted as having said:

"Many persons think, no doubt, that I consider some act of my political career as the outstanding achievement of my life. Far from it. For many years I thought if a person had wronged me, I never cared for that person any more or rested easily until I got even with him. I realized my weakness and fought against it through the years before I overcame it. I have nothing but the kindest feeling for everyone. That to me is my life's greatest achievement."

A few weeks ago I asked him if he still felt the same way. He replied:

"Well, it has been a long time since I did anything in spleen. I have liked most of the people I have met and most of the people with whom I have worked. I have nothing but the kindest feelings for everyone. But," he added, "of course, I like some people better than others."

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